

news from behind the

# IRON CURTAIN

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## SPECIAL FEATURE

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## About this Publication . . .

NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, published monthly by the Research and Publications Service of the National Committee for a Free Europe, is distributed to a limited mailing list of those who have expressed specific interest in events and developments in Communist-dominated Europe. This bulletin is a compilation of material collected by the Committee for the use of Radio Free Europe and its other divisions and is being made available to representatives of the press and other media, to universities, churches, libraries, and research centers, and to other groups of citizens who want to know more about "Communism in practice." The publication is not an organ of editorial policy; wherever possible direct quotations have been used with a minimum of connective commentary. However, the Committee believes that accurate information contributes to an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the Communist system, and hence to the ability of the free nations to combat this system.

## About the National Committee for a Free Europe . . .

The National Committee for a Free Europe was founded in 1949 by a group of private American citizens who joined together for direct action aimed at the eventual liberation of the peoples of the Iron Curtain countries. With the help of endowments and public contributions to the Crusade for Freedom, the Committee has set up, among other activities, Radio Free Europe. The Committee's efforts are focused on the captive countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In these efforts the Committee counts among its active allies the democratic leaders—scholars, journalists, political and economic experts, and men of letters—who have escaped from the Communist enslavement of their native lands.

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# Area Trends

**U**NEXPECTED demises in the Communist countries of Europe were a sudden reminder that nothing is more democratic than death, even in totalitarian lands. Stalin's death invoked regimented official mourning throughout the Satellites. Eulogies of Stalin were mixed with expressions of grief and loss, the need for unity within the Soviet bloc, and warnings of the need for vigilance against internal and external enemies. The captive peoples were once more advised to rededicate themselves to the principles of Stalinism by increasing their "work for peace" and their "building of Socialism."

Gottwald's death in Czechoslovakia was less flamboyantly treated and with a proper sense for his subordinate position, living or dead, to Stalin. However, the same ritualized display of formal mourning characterized the ceremonies on his behalf. The apparently smooth transition of power from Stalin to Malenkov in the USSR was paralleled in Czechoslovakia from Gottwald to Zapotocky, and although there was much speculation about leadership reshufflings and factional strife, no striking changes were in evidence. If anything, the principal propaganda themes were devoted primarily to giving an appearance of continuity of power and authority.

Mourning did not divert the Satellite regimes from their usual preoccupations and their reiterated attacks on the Church, the Zionists, and the West. Criticisms of shortcomings in economic achievements also continued, but overshadowing all other occurrences was the death of Stalin. The Satellite leadership, though apparently calm, waited for the shifts and purges that have long since become an inherent part of Kremlin dictatorship. The revolution had not only devoured its children, but the likelihood was that it would also devour its grandchildren.

## POLAND

**Mourning Becomes A Eulogy:** Stalin's death overshadowed all national activities. Mass meetings were organized throughout the country to commemorate the passing of the "leader of progressive humanity," and for the first time in Polish history, the name of a city was changed to honor a foreign ruler (Katowice was named Stalinogrod). Speeches affirming Polish friendship with the Soviet Union and fidelity to Stalin's policy and memory were reiterated without relief over press and radio.

**Objection Overruled:** Protest notes to Western Governments and a black book documenting US "crimes against Poland" were the salient features of the hate campaign. One of these notes condemned a British court decision to award about \$640,000, left from social funds of the Polish Forces under British command, to the emigre Combatant's Association in London. The Communists denounced this action as evidence of British support of anti-Communist activities conducted by "treacherous exiles."

**Priests and Politics:** The Government continued its anti-Church campaign to drive a wedge between Bishops and the lower clergy among whom it is recruiting supporters. In answer to this, the Bishops published a pastoral letter in the Catholic weekly cautiously criticizing priests who engage in politics. The fact that the letter was not published until one month after it was written may have been due to Communist censorship; at the time it was composed, pro-regime clergy throughout the country were staging meetings in support of the sentences given to priests in the Cracow trial.

**Economic:** At the National Congress of Productive Cooperatives on February 22, it was announced that the number of collective farms had increased from 4,900 to 5,600 since January 1. The Socialist sector of agriculture presently comprises only 17 percent of all arable land. The Congress announced that since trained farm personnel and agricultural equipment were now available, it was time to "think seriously" of more collectivization. Although it was stressed that collectivization should be voluntary, a new decree stipu-



lates that the government can take over any land not "properly" cared for.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

**Double Mourning:** The unexpected death of President Klement Gottwald shortly after his return from Stalin's funeral threw Czechoslovak Communists into another period of mourning. The election of Antonin Zapotocky as Gottwald's successor indicates that the Government did not think it advisable to further remodel its machinery along Soviet lines by abolishing the post of President. Instead, the succession was played up as a manifestation of Communist continuity. Zapotocky and Prime Minister Siroky vied with each other in assuring the people that "Gottwald's great and rich heritage will be fulfilled with iron consistency." It is also noteworthy that Zapotocky, following Malenkov, stressed the possibilities of peaceful coexistence between East and West. What this statement actually portends remains to be seen.

**Economic:** Deportations of "non-productive" urbanites to rural areas and harsh punishment of absentee workers have been intensified in an effort to remedy economic shortcomings. In addition, careful checks on industrial output are being arranged by regional Party newspapers, and a campaign is underway for workers and technicians to criticize their own work methods.

### HUNGARY

**Stalin:** The National Assembly embodied Stalin's "immortality" in law. This fantastic gesture was only one of many activities and ceremonies dedicated to the late Soviet leader. Increased production was the order of the day: factories pledged Stakhanovite production and farmers worked night as well as day to "express their bereavement."

**Agricultural Convention:** The Ministries for Agriculture and for State Farms were sharply criticized at a national agricultural convention where Deputy Prime Minister Nagy declared that last year's poor crop was partly caused by failure to implement Soviet methods. Poor weather also contributed to shortcomings and has endangered the spring crop as well. Because of these difficulties, the government postponed its collectivization program and decreed that no individually-owned farms may be offered to or taken over

by the State until next September. It was also stated that any independent farmer who leaves his land will be severely punished.

### ROMANIA

**Solidarity:** The importance of increasing national unity and vigilance against the enemy were main themes of editorials and speeches commemorating Stalin's death. Initiated by the Kremlin, these sentiments were echoed by Communist organizations and their leaders in a campaign to impress East and West with Satellite solidarity. Although this propaganda clearly indicates Communist apprehensions, the regime is still in complete control of the country and firmly led by the Moscow ruling clique.

**Inflation:** The clearest sign that Romanian economy is in the doldrums is the steadily increasing inflation and declining living standards. The new inflationary State Budget for 1953, which provides for a 23 percent increase over that of 1952, only feebly reflects the dire state of economic affairs.

### BULGARIA

**Production Lags:** New and higher production norms are being established in all plants, factories, collective farms and other enterprises in order to ensure fulfillment of the State Plan for 1953. Mining norms have been increased by 13.2 percent, while those in the textile industry have been raised 8 percent. Although the first quarter is not yet over, complaints have already been registered that production is behind schedule, particularly in the lumber industry. Similarly, in propaganda for the spring sowing campaign, the Communists condemned inferior repair work on agricultural machines as well as the poor quality of grain delivered for sowing.

**Friendship:** Intense preparations were made for the National Convention of Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship Associations whose theme song is the "people's undying gratitude for Soviet aid." The organization issued pro-Soviet propaganda throughout the month, with special emphasis on the 35th anniversary of the Red Army. The alliance of Bulgarian and Soviet soldiers and the Red Army's superiority and power were underscored in all editorials written for the occasion.

# Gods, Graves and Hollers

## I. "THE KING IS DEAD"

*March 4: The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the USSR announce the great misfortune which has befallen our party and our people—the grave illness of Comrade J. V. Stalin. . . . The Central Committee and the Council of Ministers express confidence that our party and the whole Soviet people will . . . display the greatest unity and cohesion, staunchness of spirit and vigilance. . . .*

*March 5: The heart of the comrade and inspired continuer of Lenin's will, the wise leader and teacher of the Communist Party and the Soviet people—Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin—has stopped beating.*

*Dear Comrades and friends. . . . The steel-like unity and monolithic unity of the ranks of the Party constitute the main condition for its strength and might. . . .*

Immediately after Stalin's death a chorus of Satellite condolences reverberated throughout Eastern Europe, characterized by rigid conformity of expression. All speeches, telegrams and editorials deplored the loss of the "greatest thinker, teacher and leader of working humanity" found their prototypes in the first Soviet pronouncement on Stalin's illness and in Malenkov's funeral oration. The new Soviet Premier's emphasis on unity of the Party and the nation, on strengthening the Soviet Armed Forces and on consolidating the "peace camp" was echoed by Communist leaders in all parts of the Iron Curtain area. The aim was to demonstrate Communist power and cohesion, and boasts about the USSR's ability to defend itself against enemy attack far outweighed mention of peaceful coexistence between communism and capitalism.

"Under the leadership of the great Stalin," Malenkov said, "a mighty camp of peace, democracy and Socialism has been set up. In that camp, in close fraternal unity with the Soviet people, march the great Chinese people, the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Albania, the German Democratic Republic and

the Mongolian People's Republic. . . . It is our sacred task to preserve and consolidate the greatest attainment of the people—the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism—[by] strengthening the ties of friendship . . . of the people's democratic bloc."

Lavrenti Beria followed suit. He keynoted unity and defied Western speculations about Soviet internal unrest and a possible struggle for power: "Enemies think that our loss will bring disarray to our ranks, but they will be disappointed. The Party stands united and unshaken. . . . The peoples of the USSR have rallied their ranks even closer round the Party. . . . We shall cooperate with China, the People's Democracies and East Germany."

Molotov emphasized Satellite dependence on Soviet leadership: "Stalin played a great role in developing the constitution of our multinational state. . . . He also threw light on the development of the political and social theories of Marx and Lenin. This is of special importance to the People's Democracies and the colonial peoples."

### "Dusk Will Not Fall"

The role of Satellite leaders was to show that Soviet patronage was appreciated and closer fraternization desirable. Pledges of ever greater friendship for the USSR and expressions of the captive peoples' undying loyalty to their Communist regimes appeared in all commentaries on Stalin's death. Alike both in sentiment and wording, these statements were unconvincing testimony of East European bereavement: lacking variety and originality, the myriad of official communiques were evidence, not of grief, but of the pervasive drone of Kremlin propaganda. For instance, Secretary of the Polish Communist Party Edward Ochab declared:

"The gathering of the entire Party of Lenin and Stalin and the Soviet nation around the Stalinist leadership . . . [will] provide an opportunity for every Communist to redouble his efforts for the construction of Socialism. Stalin is gone, but despite Wall Street calculations and the barbaric shouts of American, West German, Titoite and Madrid radios . . . the ranks of the free, peace-

loving nations and the Soviet Union have become closer."

In a similar speech to the Czechoslovak nation, late President Klement Gottwald asserted that the ranks of the Czechoslovak Communist Party must close even tighter around the Central Committee, and that vigilance against all enemies must be increased because "reactionary hyenas encouraged by their masters abroad slink among us, believing that the time has come for them to reap gain from the nation's mourning. Warmongering propaganda must be countered and the greatest possible attention devoted to our defense power."

Parroting Gottwald, Antonin Zapotocky, then Prime Minister, delivered the following address in Prague while Stalin was being buried in Moscow. As quoted by Radio Prague, March 9, Zapotocky said:

"Our enemies, the capitalist exploiters . . . the imperialist oppressors . . . the warmongers and enemies of peace are greatly mistaken if they think that with Stalin's death . . . dusk will fall upon the construction of a new society and make it possible for them to instigate a new imperialist war with impunity."

Zapotocky also paid tribute to the Soviet Army, making the extravagant claim that it had liberated not only the Soviet Union, but all of Western Europe:

". . . It is a fact that not only Prague, but the whole of Western Europe owes its liberation to the Soviet Army. This fact cannot be disputed, because facts . . . cannot be distorted. . . Of all states, only the Soviet Union could defend itself effectively against the criminal aggression of the Fascist hordes. . . Were it not for Soviet victories, American troops would never have reached Europe, not to mention Pilsen. . . No blot is on Stalin's name. We will best honor his memory by remaining faithful to Socialism, to our alliance with the Soviet Union, and to the defense of peace."

### What Price Homage?

On behalf of the Polish Armed Forces, Marshal Konstanty Rokossowski delivered an address, "Let Sacrificial Service in the Polish Forces Be the Homage We Pay," over Radio Warsaw, March 6:

". . . In these days of mourning . . . the Polish forces will consolidate their ranks even more . . . and gather round the leading forces of the Polish nation, the United Polish Workers' Party, the Government of People's Poland, and the faithful disciple of Comrade Stalin, the great builder of People's Poland, Boleslaw Bierut. . .

"The Polish Forces will strengthen their unbreakable ties of brotherhood with the soldiers of the invincible Soviet Army, the army of Lenin and Stalin. Let sacrificial and dutiful service in the ranks of the Polish forces, continual strengthening of our country's power and battle-preparedness, and increased vigilance against enemy schemes be the homage we pay to the immortal memory of the great Stalin."

Bulgarian Prime Minister Vulko Chervenkov also underscored vigilance, unity and eternal loyalty to the Kremlin cause:

"The greatest human heart has stopped beating. The light of the greatest mind of our era has been extinguished. Joseph Stalin, the great continuer of Lenin's cause, is no longer among the living. Our loss is very grave. . . The greater the loss, the greater must be the unity of workers and all honest people . . . around the beloved name of Stalin. [They] . . . must demonstrate their confidence in the power of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, in the Soviet Union and its consistent peace policy. . . Our people will unite closely around the Bulgarian Communist Party. They will . . . intensify political vigilance and be implacable toward enemies. Our people will intensify their efforts for national defense and make the utmost effort to fulfill and overfulfill state economic plans."

Radio Tallinn, March 7, broadcast the following statement made by Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Soviet Estonia, August Jacobson:

"The beloved name of Comrade Stalin will continue to live among us, encourage us and lead us. . . His name lives on in the Soviet Communist Party, in its wise and correct policies. . . We make a holy pledge to increase revolutionary vigilance, so that even the most sly and ferocious enemy will not dare engage us in a surprise attack."

All other Communist Parties expressed similar sentiments.

### The Same Voices, the Same Tunes

Ordinary citizens, as well as Government leaders, were forced to participate in this display of mourning, and workers were urged to fulfill and exceed economic plans in honor of the late Soviet leader. The striking similarity between the voice of the common man and that of Party organs merely contributes to the impression of Kremlin-dictated grief. For instance, a Polish textile worker allegedly declared: "The communiqué of the . . . Soviet Government expressed the need to intensify the Soviet people's vigilance . . . during Stalin's illness. This directive also applies to us in People's Poland and to all fighters for peace and progress." In like manner, a Polish shockworker is said to have declared: "Intensified vigilance and consolidation of our ranks will be our reply to our enemies, to those rebuilding the Nazi war machine in order to use it against the Soviet Union, Poland, and other countries of the People's Democracy." And Polish Railwaymen sent the following telegram to their co-workers in the Soviet Union: "In these difficult days . . . we are closing even more around our Party and our People's Authorities . . . in order to fight more intensely for plan fulfillment, for peace, for progress and for Socialism."

Not only pledges of fidelity but, even more importantly, increased production was part of the required ritual. Radio Kossuth, March 8, reported on the extra work performed by Hungarian people and revealed that farmers had expressed their sorrow over Stalin's death by laboring nights as well as days:

"The Hungarian people take leave of Stalin by fighting even more persistently for the happy future of our

### Satellite Delegations to Stalin's Funeral

#### HUNGARY

Prime Minister Matyas Rakosi  
 President of The State Council Istvan Dobi  
 Deputy Prime Minister Arpad Hazi  
 Member of the Party Central Committee Rudolph Foldvari

#### BULGARIA

Prime Minister Vulko Chervenkov  
 Deputy Prime Minister Raiko Damianov  
 Deputy Prime Minister Georgi Traikov  
 Chervenkov's wife and sister of the late Georgi Dimitrov,  
 Elena Dimitrova  
 Chairman of the Youth Union Laehesar Avramov  
 Chairman of the Writer's Union, Christo Radevsky  
 Member of Parliament Rada Todorova

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

President Klement Gottwald  
 Minister of Defense Alexej Cepicka  
 Minister of State Security Karol Bacilek

#### ROMANIA

Prime Minister Gheorghiu-Dej.  
 President of the Presidum Petru Groza  
 Vice Premier Iosif Chisinevski  
 Vice Premier Gheorghe Apostol  
 Chairman of the State Planning Commission Miron Constantinescu  
 Vice-Chairman of the Presidum Mihail Sadoveanu  
 President of Trade Unions Stelian Moraru  
 Deputy Minister of the Armed Forces Nicolae Ceausescu  
 Editor of *Scanteia* Sorin Toma  
 Secretary of the Union of Working Youth Vasile Musat  
 Ambassador to Moscow Mihail Dalea

#### POLAND

Prime Minister Boleslaw Bierut  
 President of the State Council Alexander Zawadski  
 Minister of National Defense Konstanty Rokossowski  
 Chairman of the State Planning Commission Hilary Minc  
 Secretary of the Party Central Committee Edward Ochab

country, liberated by Stalin's soldiers. In the fields, tractors clatter even at night, more machines are produced in factories, more coal is brought up from the depths of the earth. Our miners, who have not fulfilled their plan for some time, have paid off part of their debt. In the first shift, they brought 20.6 percent more coal to the surface than was scheduled."

In a similar broadcast on the following day, Radio Kosuth announced that agricultural workers had stood guard for Stalin and that Turkeve tractorists had pledged to work day and night. "They put lamps on their machines so that tractor operators could see whether the machines were sowing constantly."

Youth also played its assigned role, mimicking well-worn phrases about vigilance and militancy. For example the Romanian Union of Working Youth sent the following telegram, broadcast over Radio Bucharest, March 5, to the Central Committee of the Soviet Komsomol:

"The Union of Working Youth . . . is rallying even more closely round the invincible banner of Lenin and Stalin, and will work even harder to absorb and fulfill the brilliant ideas of the great Stalin. . . . We shall work with youthful elan for the construction of Socialism in our Homeland. We shall increasingly whet our vigilance and militancy against enemies of our motherland's freedom and independence, [and] struggle for the defense of the great cause of peace, freedom and friendship among peoples."

#### Death Took A Dare

Eulogies to Stalin were the order of the day, and no praise was deemed too great for the "liberator of humanity." The Polish Government renamed the city of Katowice, (with a population of about 200,000) after the late Soviet leader, and monuments dedicated to Stalin are

being constructed throughout the Iron Curtain area. In accordance with the established rote of Communist hero worship, poetry extolling Stalin was plentiful. For instance, *Rude Pravo* (Prague), March 9, printed the extravagant verse below:

"No! Neither head nor heart can grasp it.  
 Our Stalin—humanity's firmest support.  
 How could death dare  
 To touch the source of life itself?"

Estonian poet and Stalin prizewinner, Juhan Schmuul, composed the following:

"Stalin's heart beats no more,  
 Night has descended on him.  
 The great man's work is ended.  
 The great light is extinguished.  
 In these hours of pain we know  
 That a great catastrophe has occurred,  
 And we shall never permit ourselves to forget  
 That the Party is our stronghold forever."

Even more fantastic than these verses was the Hungarian National Assembly's decision to pass a law "preserving the memory of Generalissimo Stalin." According to *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), March 10, this law is to stand as proof of the Hungarian people's eternal gratitude to the former Soviet Premier. Such a gesture is as meaningless as the statement, printed below, that Stalin was responsible for Hungarian liberty and independence:

"The National Assembly will incorporate the memory of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin into law as proof of the Hungarian people's eternal appreciation of his . . . merits, [demonstrated] by his liberation of the Hungarian people, by his bringing about and guaranteeing Hungarian independence, and by his raising the political, economic and cultural standards of Hungarian workers."

While this ritual of mourning was performed to excess, the new Soviet leaders quietly took power. What their accession will mean to the Western world is unknowable, but all signs point to the continuation of the Stalinist grip on the Satellites, to the steady progress of economic exploitation and political manipulation. Despite Soviet proclamations about the peaceful coexistence of capitalism and communism, denunciations of "Western warmongering" as opposed to "USSR peace efforts" remain major propaganda themes, and the hate campaign has even gained impetus as a result of recent events.

However, the area-wide drive for greater vigilance and unity indicates Kremlin fears of a crack in the tightly-knit Communist structure. Private reports about heavy Satellite police patrols immediately after Stalin's death further illustrate Communist anxiety about an anti-Soviet uprising. The Kremlin, as well as the West, knows that the captive people's obedience is based on fear rather than devotion.

The new Soviet leaders seem to have reached a workable agreement among themselves, and are undoubtedly aware of the dangerous repercussions of an internal struggle for power. But the possibility of such a struggle always exists in a Communist state. As the Berlin monthly *Tarantel*, March, wrote in a satire on totalitarianism: "The new minister walked solemnly at the head of the procession. In front of him marched the murderers of his predecessor, behind him, his own murderers, followed by the murderers of his successor."

At this point, Malenkov hardly has the stature of the deified Stalin, and, throughout the period of mourning, received little mention in the Satellite press. But a new Malenkov myth has already begun to flower, and if the Soviet Premier succeeds in maintaining his rule, this fable can be expected to bloom within a short time. The administrative changes following Stalin's death will probably have little immediate effect on the lives of the captive peoples. The new leaders are dedicated to Stalin's terrorist methods; their goal, as was his, is to perpetuate the harsh realities of a police system.

## II. OPPORTUNISM

Just as the Stalinists have redefined the words liberty, democracy and patriotism, so they have distorted the word opportunism to mean anything they want it to at a given moment. Assuredly, opportunism, defined by Webster as "taking advantage . . . of opportunities or circumstances with little regard for principles or ultimate consequences" is one of the means used by the Communists to seize and maintain power. In Communist jargon it is used to describe almost any real or imagined crime against the Party. It has been employed indiscriminately to indict recalcitrants, internal enemies, careless officials, and loyal Communists the Party chooses to eliminate. In its broadest sense, it means violation of Party orders and lack of Bolshevik militance. However, any exact definition of the word as it is used in Communese is impossible.

That it is derogatory is clear from the definition given by the Dictionary of Foreign Words published by the Szikra State Publishing House, Budapest, 1951: "Opportunism is a human and political attitude characteristic of the rotten bourgeoisie. Poisoned by bourgeois traditions, doctrines and anti-people's propaganda, opportunists are individuals who join the Socialist order for the sole purpose of gaining material benefits. . . ." The Dictionary further states that the opportunist opens the door to hostile destructive influences while pretending to cooperate with the Party and that he makes compromises, takes no responsibility and betrays the cause he ostensibly serves. Antonyms of opportunism are: vigilance, militance and total submission to the Party:

"The typical representative of opportunism is rightist-socialist democratism which has become the satellite of American monopolist capitalism. The opposites of opportunism are vigilance, a fighting spirit and adherence to the Party. People with these characteristics ruthlessly, consistently and openly . . . fight in theory and practice for the cause of the Party, for the realization of the new Socialist state, society and culture."

### Opportunist Pauker

To accept this definition literally would be to accept the fact that the recently dismissed Ana Pauker and her colleagues Luca and Georgescu were bourgeoisie in disguise who betrayed the cause, took no responsibility, and catered to the public will instead of adhering to Party line. Since Ana Pauker's ruthlessness and devotion to Communism are well known, the following charges made by Gheorghiu-Dej in a report to the May 26-27 Party Congress are obviously meaningless in relation to fact; by coupling the word opportunism with adjectives such as dangerous, criminal, deviationist, traitorous and tolerant, Gheorghiu-Dej explains little except that Ana Pauker's services are no longer required:

"The plenary session of the Central Committee took a firm stand against the dangers inherent in the tolerance of opportunism. Tolerance is only a form of opportunism. . . .

"The plenum found that Comrade Georgescu had a tolerant attitude toward the rightist deviation of Luca. It was proved that Georgescu's attitude actually concealed his own rightist opportunist deviations. . . .

"The plenum established the fact that Ana Pauker . . . sustained Vasile Luca's rightist deviation. Comrade Pauker also committed 'leftist' deviations from Party line."

In the Western sense of the word it is undoubtedly true that Ana Pauker and her colleagues used opportunistic methods to gain power and that those who supplanted them employed similar techniques.

### No Struggle Against the Enemy

Definitions of opportunism for the rank and file Party membership are more comprehensible. These appear with monotonous frequency in Communist editorials exhorting

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the masses to obey the Party without question and to turn this blind obedience into hatred for the enemy. For instance, the March 3 issue of *Scanteia* (Bucharest) railed against "bourgeois objectivism and academic impartiality" as obstacles to the annihilation of capitalism. These attitudes are apparently characteristic of the opportunist:

"Some Communists reveal liberalistic attitudes, are afraid to sharply define anti-Marxist distortions and treat them indulgently. . . . Bourgeois objectivism, attitudes of academic impartiality, lack of revolutionary combativeness . . . are foreign to the Marxist revolutionary party. Party propaganda must unmask the poisonous theories of the extinction of class warfare, of the peaceful integration of capitalist elements in Socialist society. Our Party has annihilated the counter-revolutionary action of Luca, Pauker and Georgescu, but it would be dangerous opportunism to [assume that their effects on society have been completely liquidated]."

Tracking down the source of apathy in the class struggle, the Budapest daily, *Szabad Nep*, February 4, declared that opportunism (lack of militance) was the result of poor theoretical training so that the masses do not even know the enemy when they see him and, consequently, are open to hostile influence:

"Party organizations do not devote enough attention to educating their members; as a result, the members do not realize when hostile views are being expounded and do not fight against them. Underestimation of theory, neglect of Party education, laxity in Party work and life, lead to opportunism, to the slackening of vigilance and to the cessation of the struggle against the enemy."

### Negativism

Because continual propaganda is required to combat apathy, the Communists devote a maximum of energy to labelling opportunists, hoping that by sheer repetition the tag will become more opprobrious. The Party press constantly points out that opportunists are subtle fellows who have mastered the "bourgeois techniques" of working secretly as well as overtly against the people. Since the Communists aim not only to create an atmosphere of terror pregnant for informers, but also to whip up Bolshevik enthusiasm, they harp on the fact that opportunists do not always actively oppose domestic policy but often simply fail to support it or give it mere formal allegiance.

The latter type of opportunist was the subject of an editorial by S. Dygat in the Polish magazine *Przegląd Kulturalny* (Warsaw), February 5. Dygat describes this person as the "irreproachable one" who secretly hates the regime but who follows all government rules and regulations because he fears that if he fails to do so, he will be exposed, condemned by the people and deprived of his social position. "The irreproachable one is always in order. Neither blame nor criticism can be attached to him. Is this bad? It would not be if we did not ask ourselves what use he is to you, to life or to himself." According to Dygat, the "irreproachable one" completely conceals his scorn for

the people and their plight and even hesitates to confide in God. He is obedient because he thinks:

"[If I did not act as I do] I would lose all that which can still be had in these nightmarish times—position, travel, travelling expenses, my allocated lodgings, and the chance of a promotion or a raise. So I must live in constant fear and guard my secrets by being 'loyal,' lest people discover what I am really like."

Dygat claims that the opportunist's true feelings can be summarized as follows: "Oh God, plague this country with bombs and grenades, with all diseases and misfortunes, so that the nation will be destroyed and homes turned into ashes." Dygat concludes his article with an appeal to the people to fight this type of opportunist who, he claims, is the real plague of contemporary Polish life:

"Such, my friends, is the real picture of the 'irreproachable one's thoughts and dreams. Expose him to your elders. Let us carefully consider all those on whom no blame can be put and who are of no particular use. Force them to open up their minds and hearts. Let their true feelings be known to us so that we know who these people really are."

### The Egotist

The "irreproachable one" is actually a victim of Communist terror who clings to freedom of thought as the only liberty left to him. The Communists realize that any person who retains a critical attitude towards "Socialist construction" or who reserves for himself any personal liberty is a potential enemy. For this reason, the "useless, negative conformist" must be unmasked and exhibited as the very opposite of the new Socialist man who is "faithful, sincere, devoted and ready to die for the Party, the Soviet Union, proletarian internationalism and Socialism." Since apathy is one of the major stumbling blocks for Communist regimes, Party activists continually denounce negativism as opportunism and an attribute of "bourgeois egotism and individualism." For instance, in a speech to ideological leaders, quoted by *Rabotnickesk Delo* (Sofia), February 1, Prime Minister Vulko Chervenkov declared:

"There are still many negative habits, prejudices, etc., [cultivated] by ideological and educational workers. Bourgeois and petty bourgeois influence has not yet been overcome. There are still opportunist . . . circles, organizations with the secret and sometimes open motto: 'Don't disturb me and I won't disturb you.' Can there be any doubt that if we fail to abolish this atmosphere, if we fail to fight opportunism, tolerance and bourgeois morale, the sacrifice of public interest to personal interest, to the 'I,' we will not succeed."

Chervenkov clearly indicated that mere token support for regime policy was the source of many failures:

"Serious shortcomings, failures and errors can be observed in many places on the ideological front. In my opinion, the main reason is that the correct Party line and the clearly outlined tasks of the ideological front are not adhered to and coped with consistently or totally everywhere, always and by everyone. . . . We must not

relax, but on the contrary, we must intensify self-educational work among our intelligentsia, particularly among that part . . . which lived longer under the influence of bourgeois ideology."

#### "Bourgeois Deviationism"

Clinging to "bourgeois" habits is almost always termed opportunism. For instance on November 7, 1952, Hungarian Minister of Defense Mihaly Farkas struck out against officials for participating in religious ceremonies: "It is hard to find words strong enough to condemn the kind of opportunism manifested by the fact that members of the Armed Forces, State Defense Agencies, the police and DISZ [Communist youth] officials take part in Church processions. We regret to say that this occurs rather often."

Anyone who deviates from the Party line is immediately open to the charge of opportunism, and clergy who oppose the regime are *ipso facto* opportunists. The Hungarian Catholic weekly, *A Kereszt*, December 10, 1952, wrote in this connection: "Today, large masses of parishioners throughout the country . . . oppose those priests who, being opportunists, do not openly take a stand for the cause of peace and do not join the priests' peace movement [Communist]."

In science or art, appreciation of Western achievements and failure to assert the superiority of Soviet culture or to follow Communist theories is called opportunism. This was made clear in a 1951 executive meeting of the Hungarian Academy of Science, where Professor Tibor Erdey-Gruz attacked what might be called "opportunistic cosmopolitanism": "In the first place, we must break away from the unscientific opportunistic view which extols everything that happens in the West or is a Western theory, and which does not recognize the outstanding achievements of the pre-eminent Soviet science."

The writer who fails to advance a Socialist purpose is likewise an opportunist. In a lecture to the Hungarian Writers Association on February 26, V. P. Druzin declared: "Our great critics and writers condemn opportunists in art who try to see clear forms, who are followers of art without a purpose, who degrade art . . . to an unnecessary game."

Opportunists in economic life are those who hamper plan fulfillment, collectivization and export deliveries to the Soviet Union. For example, *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), January 10, condemned factory managers for shirking complicated export work. "This opportunistic underestimation of the significance of export explains the superficiality and listlessness with which export work is handled."

Radio Kossuth, January 28, defined economic dependence on the State as opportunistic: "We must put up a fight against the opportunistic belief that the State will supply seeds for sowing. Kolkhozi and independent farmers must get the seeds themselves."

Failure of local officials to press farmers for deliveries to the State is also called opportunism. *Szabad Nep*, January 11, wrote: "Albert Magda sharply criticized the Council Chairman for his leniency toward kulaks in arrears with

their deliveries. . . . The Council Chairman admitted . . . that his criminal opportunism had entailed serious consequences."

#### Lack of Vigilance

Opportunism in the sense of carelessness, lack of vigilance or intentional treachery is depicted as a major threat to Socialist security. The Communists continually insist that opportunists are enemy bait recruited for anti-State activity. *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), February 2, declared: "American imperialism, the most reactionary force and the oppressor of the people's freedom, willingly employs opportunists for spying and subversion; it employs traitorous rightist social democrats, so-called free progressives, as well as persons who are undisciplined and abhor struggle." Similarly, on February 28, *Szabad Nep* wrote: "Tito-Fascist bandits, Trotskyites, rightist-opportunist traitors, bourgeois-nationalist Zionist elements, Vatican agents, all provocateurs and assassins, are used by the imperialists for espionage and subversion against the free peoples."

The following feuilleton on vigilance which appeared in the February 8 issue of the Polish weekly *Swiat* (Warsaw), describes the bureaucrat who paves the way for opportunism, or who is an opportunist himself. Entitled "Attention Gapers," it provides an insight into the prevalence of administrative carelessness despite repeated admonitions about increasing watchfulness. The scene takes place in a factory office, with Citizen Dopey seated behind a desk:

Dopey: Vigilance is a very important matter. I talk about it at every meeting. . . . But now I'm confused. They have a new term—*gaping*. What does it mean? It sounds insulting. We are all vigilant. Our eyes and ears are open. It is nonsense to speak about—what's the word? —gaping.

(Telephone rings.)

Hello! . . . The Inspector is here? Well, what do you want from me? Tell him about everything as usual. . . . You need me? What for? I can't be bothered about every little detail. His papers? No, you can't check his papers. An Inspector is always an inspector. What? You want me to take care of him? I won't. I'm too busy. I must keep watch . . . vigilance, you know. . . .

(Hangs up. Telephone rings again.)

Hello! Yes? What figures? Oh, on our production? Just a moment. What? You want to come and get them yourself? What for? Secret? What else? You say that if I speak on the phone, the secretary and the people next door will hear? My dear fellow, you don't have to teach *me* vigilance. . . . My vigilance is evident from a very simple fact: all my people are 100 percent loyal. . . . So take it down. . . . Why should you have to hold on, the information is here. No, of course it wasn't in the safe. . . . I have seen safes burn like matches or cut to pieces by burglars. . . . Where do I keep the figures? My dear fellow, in my vest pocket. . . . Have you ever heard of a vest that was burned or stolen? You want the figures? Just a minute,

I'm looking. . . . Oh, damn, I forgot to wear that vest. How should I know where it is. Maybe my wife sent it to the cleaners, or threw it out. It was rather old. Oh, I'll find the figures, don't worry. The enemy won't get them anyway. . . . Goodbye, be vigilant.

(Hangs up. Phone rings again.)

Yes? The Plan has gone to pieces. . . . That's what comes of all these high goals. People can manage only so much, you know. The raw materials are insufficient? Well, whose fault is that? The supply man. Sure, I know him. . . . My wife's uncle recommended him. What? He stole? A saboteur? . . . But he always spoke about vigilance. Who ever would have suspected him? A strange case, goodbye.

(Another phone rings several minutes later.)

Hello Miss Jane. No, my kitten, I'm very busy. I'm writing an article on vigilance. A confidential letter from the Central Office? Please open it. Sealed? Marked personal? What, my dear little thing, are you so weak that you can't break open the seal? Open it, my sweet. Oh, please read it to me. I'm really very busy. What! Dismissed! Repeat that. Dismissed! For lack of vigilance? How dare they! . . . I didn't appoint myself, they appointed me. Really, what do they mean by gaping?"

*Rabotnicheskoe Delo* (Sofia), February 26, wrote in a more serious vein:

"The enemy recruits its agents from the capitalist class. A favorable atmosphere is created for them by all those who sympathize with bourgeois views, the cosmopolites who have no country, who cannot keep a State secret, as well as those naive enough to . . . allow the enemy to act right under their noses and who do not report enemy lies and rumors. . . . A patriotic love for the motherland is impossible without bitter hatred for the enemy, without revolutionary vigilance for the protection of the motherland's interests. Our patriotism is inseparable from Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, love for the invincible Soviet Union and for the camp of peace and Socialism."

### III. THE MIXTURE AS BEFORE

Except for the death of Czechoslovak President Klement Gottwald no major event occurred in the Satellite area in the past month. The general pattern of national activities conformed to recent Kremlin prescriptions and revealed continuing difficulties in eliminating opposition and defection.

The Church, the West and Zionists remained the major targets of abuse, while Communist anniversaries were used to contrast the evils of capitalism with the "benefits of Socialism" and Soviet leadership. In Poland, internal enemies were denounced at a Peasant Party meeting, where the clergy and "kulaks" were condemned as the main obstacles to agricultural collectivization. In Czechoslovakia, apathy and formalism were rebuked at Party membership meetings, and it appeared that the required reorganization of basic Party cells was not accepted enthusiastically by rank and file Communists. In Bulgaria, the Government

passed a law to prevent labor migration, in an effort to ensure plan fulfillment. It also prosecuted technicians and managers on an irrigation system for criminal work attitudes. On the administrative side, the Czechoslovak regime's recent attempt to emulate the Soviet governmental setup was frustrated by Malenkov's decision to merge USSR ministries. Czechoslovak and Soviet explanations of these revisions were clearly contradictory, indicating the hollowness of Communist "theory." Similarly, elections in the Baltic countries emphasized once more the Communist travesty of democracy.

#### Gottwald Dies

On March 14, Czechoslovak Communist President Klement Gottwald died after a brief period of illness. Only a week before, he had headed the Czechoslovak delegation to Moscow to attend Stalin's funeral, and on March 12, *Rude Pravo* published a photograph of him reviewing the guard of honor at Ruzyn airport on his return to Prague. Two days later, the nation was ordered to mourn his death.

Gottwald was born out of wedlock on November 23, 1896 in the small Moravian village of Dedice. After receiving an elementary school education, he went to Vienna, where he became a carpenter's apprentice and joined the Social Democratic Youth Movement. In World War I, he served in the Austro-Hungarian Army, and from 1920-21, was one of the founders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Later, he was sent to Slovakia as reporter and editor of *Pravda*, the Slovak Communist newspaper. His rise to power began in 1926, when Rudolf Slansky pushed him into the limelight and he was named Party Secretary. He was a delegate to the Comintern World Congresses in 1928 and 1935, and in 1928 was made a member of the Communist International Executive Committee. In 1929, he was elected a deputy to parliament, where he indulged in radical, anti-State pronouncements. It was rumored, however, that he was only the mouthpiece of the more educated Communist leaders and that his speeches were written, or at least edited, by men such as Ludvik Frejka.

In 1935, Gottwald became a member of the Czechoslovak Politburo. In the fall of 1938, when the Party was banned, he fled to Moscow and became leader of the exiled Czechoslovak Communist group, which included such men as Kopecky, Slansky, Sverma and Nejedly. During the Second World War, Gottwald cooperated with the Czechoslovak Government in London, headed by Eduard Benes. After the signing of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty of Collaboration and Alliance in 1943, his influence grew stronger, and in 1944, he instructed his followers in London to insist on the setting up of clandestine national committees in occupied Czechoslovakia. He also told them to insist on enactment of a presidential decree introducing these committees as organs of State administration after the war. Benes conceded to this because he felt it was the best means of forming a fighting underground organization. The national committees later became one of the major instruments the Communists used to gain control of all levels of the State administration.

In the first post-war Cabinet headed by fellow-traveller Zdenek Fierlinger, Gottwald was one of five Deputy Prime Ministers, but it was an accepted fact that Fierlinger was Gottwald's underling and took orders directly from him. When the Communist Party took 39 percent of the votes in the May 1946 elections to the National Assembly, Gottwald became Prime Minister and drew up the first State Economic Plan which covered the years 1947-48. At that time, he was still in favor of economic cooperation with the West and of maintaining at least neutral relations with the US and Great Britain. In July 1947, Gottwald proposed that Czechoslovakia take part in Marshall Plan discussions. He was immediately summoned to Moscow along with Jan Masaryk and Prokop Drtina, and told categorically by Stalin that this decision must be revoked. Gottwald telephoned to Prague to convey the message, which, of course, was obeyed. From that time on, relations with the West deteriorated steadily. The internal political situation was tense and a showdown seemed imminent. The crisis culminated in the February 1948 Communist coup and in the "reconstructed Cabinet of the Reborn National Front." Gottwald remained Premier until Benes resigned on June 7, 1948, and one week later, was elected President for seven years. He was also Chairman of the Communist Party, and as such, a member of its Political and Organizational Secretariats. After Slansky's demotion in September 1951, Gottwald took over the additional function of Secretary General.

Gottwald was built up as the great, wise, fatherly leader of Communist Czechoslovakia. However, an exile, who served under him as chief legal adviser to the Government Presidium and Cabinet between 1945 and 1948, claims that he was notoriously unfriendly and cold: "When he left the Government Presidium after he was named President, he never even bothered to take leave of his staff. This caused great surprise, and he was finally persuaded to invite us to Hradcany Castle. There, he told some 300 of us to work harder for his successor than we had done for him." Our correspondent also throws light on Gottwald's attitude at the time of Masaryk's death and the appointment of Clementis as his successor:

"Two of the hundreds of Cabinet meetings at which I had the opportunity to watch Gottwald closely stand out in my mind. The first took place on March 11, 1948, the day after Jan Masaryk's mysterious death. Gottwald was in a state of great excitement and insisted that Masaryk's state funeral take place at the earliest possible moment. Accordingly, it was set for March 13. This unusual haste increased suspicions that Masaryk had not died a natural death.

"Some two or three weeks later, Gottwald opened another Cabinet meeting by announcing that he had just seen President Benes, who was ill in his private residence at Sezimovo Usti. Gottwald declared: 'I am extremely pleased to inform my colleagues in the Cabinet that the President readily approved my suggestion that Masaryk's successor should be our dear friend and colleague, Vlado Clementis, the only man entitled to and qualified for the job.' Two years later Clementis

was in disgrace; three years later he was in prison, and four years later, he was hanged as a spy and traitor."

On March 21 of this year, Antonin Zapotocky, hitherto Premier of Czechoslovakia, was elected by the National Assembly to succeed Gottwald. Viliam Siroky, a Deputy Premier, took over the post of Prime Minister. Zapotocky's succession was expected, and since he is known to be less radical than either of his rivals, Cepicka or Bacilek, it appears that the Government will pursue a relatively moderate policy in the near future. The fact that Deputy Prime Minister Novotny was named to head both Party Secretariats indicates that, following the Soviet Union's example, a division of functions is now in order.

### What Next?

Keeping pace with Soviet changes is a difficult task for Satellite leaders, who often are not forewarned of tactical and organizational revisions by their Kremlin masters. Czechoslovak Communists were caught in an embarrassing position as a result of Soviet measures following Stalin's death. Only last January, the Czechoslovak Government succeeded in reorganizing its machinery according to the USSR model: the Cabinet created a Government Presidium composed of a Premier and nine deputies to expedite administrative work and control directly the various government branches. It also increased the number of ministries, a step which was explained as follows by *Mlada Fronta* (Prague), February 3: "Soviet experiences have proved . . . that it is better to have smaller and more active ministries with specific tasks than one ministry with a huge agenda." (See March 1953 issue, p. 10.) Now the Soviets have totally altered the "significance of their experiences." The author of the above explanation must have been chagrined when, on March 15, the Supreme Soviet cut the number of Soviet ministries from 50 to about 25. Premier Georgi Malenkov justified the merger by stating: "It is necessary to say that measures for the consolidation of existing ministries, for unifying in one ministry the leadership of related branches of the public economy, culture and administration, have not ripened in one day. They were already developing in our Party and Government during Comrade Stalin's lifetime, and with his assistance." Stalin is no longer alive to confirm or contradict Malenkov's statements, but it seems doubtful that the late Premier would have left his Satellites so unprepared.

Not only have Soviet ministries been merged, but in place of the former nine Deputy Prime Ministers, there are now but four. The Czechoslovaks have just increased the number of Deputy Prime Ministers from four to nine. Whether Czechoslovak Communists will shortly effect another reorganization to keep in step with their Soviet leaders remains to be seen.

### Party Life

In February, basic organizations of the Czechoslovak Communist Party were ordered to hold their annual membership meetings. Despite recent directives for reorganizing

basic Party cells, the meetings were characterized by apathy. The main complaint in the press was that only "formal" changes had been made and that "Bolshevik enthusiasm" was conspicuously absent. "Until now," *Rude Pravo* (Prague), February 18, wrote, "the formation of basic Party units in plants, factories and other establishments has not always corresponded to the requirements of the Party constitution." The newspaper stressed that these units must not be created mechanically, or confused with the old kind of Party organization:

"Every Communist must be put into that Party group where his Party life will be directly linked with problems of his work place . . . and where concrete tasks will be assigned him. The Chairman of the unit must always be a mature Comrade, equipped with a thorough knowledge of all matters and with proper authority both in Party work and in production itself. He must be a good organizer and agitator. Thus it is not permissible to elect someone as Chairman simply because he has no office and happens to have time for one."

Another indication of the general apathy and defection prevailing within Party ranks was the Party's decision to conduct a public opinion poll. In January, a circular letter signed by Party Secretary Vaclav David ordered Regional Committees to submit, as soon as possible, a detailed analysis of the current attitude of Communists and ordinary citizens in connection with the Slansky trial. The letter emphasized that no information, even if it was not flattering to the Party, should be withheld. According to reports, the five questions to be asked were:

1. What signs of threatening disintegration in local Communist ranks are there?
2. Are any of Slansky's friends in the region, and if so, how numerous are they?
3. Is there any danger that some of these persons could commit any action against the Party?
4. What, in the opinion of the Regional Secretary, should be the main topics of Party propaganda at a given time in order to boost confidence in Party leadership among the rank and file membership?
5. A detailed list must be sent to the Secretariat of the Central Committee of all Party officials in the region who want to resign, and the reasons they have for doing so. The cadre record of each of these persons should be attached.

#### **Anniversary**

The fifth anniversary of the Czechoslovak Communist coup was celebrated throughout the country on February 25. Demonstrations started as early as February 22, with a parade of the People's Militia in Prague. Late President Klement Gottwald appeared in public for the first time as the organization's Supreme Commander. The Communists apparently wanted to show that they maintain power not through a vast police system, but through the People's Militia—a boast which attempts to conceal the growing rift between the regime and the disillusioned workers. Gottwald described the Militia's task as that of effectively paralyzing American imperialist plots. In his Order of the Day, pub-

lished by *Rude Pravo* (Prague), February 23, he declared:

" . . . Five years ago our people crushed the Benes-guided American Fifth Column, which, by a counter-revolutionary putsch . . . attempted to restore capitalism. . . . Now, after the destruction of [Slansky's] conspiratorial center . . . the imperialists will undoubtedly attempt . . . to strengthen their position here and recruit various traitors and mercenaries. . . . Therefore, we must not forget about criminal imperialist plots for a single moment. . . . The People's Militia . . . must be even more on guard to protect the rights gained by our working people . . . [who] are convinced of their victory because we have on our side the powerful and constantly growing peace camp under the leadership of the Soviet Union and the Great Stalin."

Tribute was also paid to Soviet leadership at a meeting of the Central Action Committee of the National Front which, under Gottwald's direction, carried out the February putsch. The main speaker at the meeting was Deputy Prime Minister Viliam Siroky,\* who praised Communist achievements in nationalizing industry, building up the State apparatus and in educating a new "intelligentsia." Siroky also declared that the Soviet Union had set the example for building a Socialist society, and insisted that Czechoslovak workers would protect Socialist gains from enemy attack:

"From the experience of five years of struggle we have learned most of all the decisive importance of the Soviet Union in the Socialist construction of the People's Democratic countries. . . . The Soviet Union has built the road to Socialism for all mankind, and the Soviet Union has set the example for building a Socialist society.

"The past five years have also taught us our duties in international policy. The American imperialists have continued . . . their war preparations and their policy of spreading aggression. . . . [They] use the Tito clique, the Zionists and bourgeois nationalists. . . . The past five years have proved that the peace force is growing constantly. If, despite everything, [the imperialists] instigate a new criminal war, there is no doubt that the workers' anger and indignation will destroy them and sweep them from the globe."

#### **Anti-Church**

In an article based on the recent trial of Polish priests in Cracow (See February 1953 issue, p. 7), Czechoslovakia's pro-Communist Canon Dezider Strehar attacked members of the clergy for failing to give full support to the regime. Writing in *Katolické Noviny* (Trnava), February 8, Canon Strehar claimed that after studying the material from the Cracow trial, as well as several others, the question arose: "How is it that persons with higher theological education and serious responsibilities can be turned into instruments of political speculation against the people's interests?" Strehar concludes that this is the result of Vatican propaganda and failures in high ecclesiastical quarters. In not one single Communist trial, he claims, were priests tried for their religious beliefs or for performing their duty. They

\* Now Prime Minister.

were sentenced, he insists, for conducting hostile activities against the State:

"The Voice of Jesus Christ . . . is not the voice of erring Church officials. General Ridgway's visit to the political secretariat of the Vatican, Cardinal Spellman's suspicious trip to Korea . . . and the aggressive attitude of our highest ecclesiastical quarters against our devotion to the People's Democratic regime, must make all our priests and believers realize that Vatican activities . . . are coordinated with those of the imperialist camp . . . led by warmongers."

After emphasizing the connection between the Vatican and the West, Strehar appealed to the clergy to help avert a third World War by fulfilling their civic duties:

"How many sad events could be avoided if we could hear from our highest Church quarters a clear and fearless voice advising us how to do our daily work . . . advising us to do everything possible to avoid . . . a disastrous war. . . .

"Recently, we have been asked why our brothers at the Altar sometimes fail to fulfill their civic duties. We have learned . . . that this happens because they listen to the hostile voice of Vatican policy and permit themselves to be carried away by its damaging . . . speculations. . . . We appeal to the faithful, and even more to the priests, to follow the Ten Commandments . . . to be good fighters for lasting world peace, fighters against the American war instigators."

This reprimand to the Church hierarchy by the organ of "patriotic priests" may indicate that the regime is preparing a new attack against Catholic priests in Czechoslovakia. A new religious trial would probably be patterned on the ones held previously, such as the trial of Bishop Zela and three Slovak Bishops in January 1951. At that time *Lidove Noviny* (Prague) declared: "The Bishops could easily have found their proper place in the struggle for world peace. They could have raised their voices, together with those of the people in their spiritual care, for the protection of peace. . . . They did not do this . . . and the court revealed their disguise."

#### Historical Makeup

The Soviet's Army's 35th anniversary on February 23 was celebrated in Warsaw by a large official rally and a number of editorials in the Party press. One of the most interesting articles was written by Marshal Konstanty Rokossowski and appeared in the February issue of *Nowe Drogi*. Rokossowski analyzed the reasons for the "Soviet victory" in the last World War with the usual Communist disregard for historical fact and penchant for myth-making.

According to Rokossowski, the Second World War was an attempt of "international reactionary circles to destroy the Soviet Union. It ended, however, in a magnificent Soviet victory and destroyed not only two powder kegs in the West and East, but also dealt the imperialist camp a heavy blow. . . . As a result of the Soviet victory several states fell out of the imperialist camp and the anti-imperialist camp was strengthened." Rokossowski also asserted that

the war had proved that "the Soviet system is not only the best form of economic and cultural organization in peace time, but also the best system for mobilizing all national forces against the enemy in time of war."

Rokossowski claimed that the Red Army's victory could also be explained by the fact that it had just waged a national war and fought "in the name of the nation's liberation. That is why it enjoyed the love and understanding of the Soviet people and not only had their support but the support of all progressive mankind." However, the main source of Soviet strength, as interpreted by Rokossowski, was Stalin's leadership:

"Comrade Stalin, the greatest military leader of all times and nations, created the most modern military science. He personally worked out plans for all the most important strategical operations, the execution of which ensured final victory over the enemy. 'Victory is everywhere Stalin is,' the Soviet people used to say. . . . Comrade Stalin formed and trained the Soviet officers' corps, which brilliantly led the soldiers. . . . The Soviet Union's victory in the National War constitutes a triumph for the strategic . . . genius of Generalissimo Stalin, and for Stalinist war science."

#### Trouble on the Farms

In a February 5 meeting, the Executive Committee of the United Polish Peasant Party discussed economic and political obstacles to collectivization. Stefan Ignar, Vice-Chairman of the Party, blamed peasant resistance on hostile "kulaks," the clergy and "petty-bourgeois capitalist elements." He declared that "kulak subversion" had been expressed by "treacherous questions and complaints" in pre-election meetings, by attacks against National Front activists, and by various "pseudo-religious undertakings and missions." Ignar warned that although these "criminals" had been isolated and suppressed, the enemy is still active and vigilance is of prime importance. The following excerpt from his address clearly reveals that the regime's "rural reconstruction" program is seriously hindered by popular opposition:

"From time to time, kulaks, supported by remnants of capitalism, renew their noisy attacks. In the intervals, they systematically carry out their work silently—which is more dangerous. By tearful complaints, corruption, bribery and secret threats made by their sons, relatives and political friends employed in the administration, they manage to burden small and middle farmers with [some of] their own duties to the State."

"Kulaks in clerical garb" were the target of an even more vehement attack. As proof that the "reactionary clergy" hampers collectivization, Ignar cited the case of the Bishop of Lublin who was accused of ordering his subordinates to divide their property among Church servants so that they could avoid land taxation and compulsory deliveries to the State. Ignar pointed out that while such allocations were legal, they had to result in one-family or individual farms and could not merely be made on paper. Ignar ended his speech by saying that work is hindered in all sectors dominated by kulaks and "reaction-

ary clergy," and that wherever they have infiltrated the Peasant Party, the struggle against capitalism has been paralyzed.

Secretary of the organization, Alexander Juszkiewicz, attacked not only reactionary elements but also Peasant Party activists, because their "bureaucratic, harsh and selfish methods" prevented them from reaching the peasant masses. In voicing his criticism, Juszkiewicz referred to an article in Moscow's *Pravda* which laid down rules of conduct for managers in a Socialist society:

"Under Socialism, the relationship between managers and employees is based on mutual respect. . . . A manager's attitude toward his subordinates is of . . . utmost importance. Shouting and brutality are sometimes taken as signs of strength; actually, they signify weakness. A good manager must be tactful and patient. . . . Party organizations cannot tolerate conceit and rudeness. . . . Those who lack modesty, who exaggerate their successes and boast instead of work . . . harm the cause. Such people are completely satisfied with minor achievements and consciously ignore failures. . . ."

Juszkiewicz concluded that there are many such people in Polish institutions, and that they were to be considered dangerous.

#### **Anti-West**

The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs recently published a book entitled "Documents Showing the US Government's Hostile Activity Against People's Poland." Composed of 56 articles, including diplomatic notes, laws and official statements, the book allegedly presents evidence of the US Government's anti-Polish policy. According to *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), February 27, the first section deals with infringements on Polish independence and territorial integrity, such as "attacks against Poland's Western borders and the revival of neo-Nazi militarism." The second section "gives proof" of US trade discrimination and failure to return Polish property seized by the Nazis. The third section condemns US interference in Polish internal affairs by the "organization of subversion, espionage and sabotage."

*Zycie Warszawy*, March 6, gave additional information on the contents of the second section. "The book deals with the farcical appropriation of Polish thoroughbred horses looted by the Nazis and then taken to the US." It also contains a list of Polish applications for export licenses rejected by the American Office on International Trade:

"[These applications] were rejected in 1948, 1949, 1950 and 1951, while the Voice of America never ceased to proclaim its sympathy and love for the Polish nation. This 'love' did not prevent American rulers from refusing to sell grain to Poland as early as July 1947, when we were in a difficult situation because of drought. As is well known, the Soviet Union gave us help with grain. What was the aim of these and the many other hostile economic measures of US rulers? . . . The aim was obvious: to hamper postwar construction, and to bring about the economic subjugation of Poland—an attempt which was frustrated."

The Polish Government has recently implemented its anti-West campaign by a number of protest notes to Western Governments. On several occasions in the past few months, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs accused the French Government of persecuting the Polish minority in France. In January, the Ministry sent a note to the US protesting "spying and diversion against Poland," and on February 23, the Ministry denounced the British Government for "financing Polish emigres." This note was issued in connection with a British court decision granting £230,000 to the Association of Polish Combatants. These funds were described as the balance remaining from the organization's membership fees, entertainment profits and from the pay of soldiers in the Second Corps of the Polish Armed Forces. Radio Warsaw, February 24, declared that the British Government had previously agreed to return part of these funds to the Polish Government. The note also claims that the Association harbors "traitors to Poland, such as Anders, Sosnkowski, Kopanski and Bor-Komorowski," and fails to represent the majority of Polish soldiers.

"By continuing to finance diversion against Poland through organizations of Polish traitors . . . the British Government supports not only war propaganda disseminated by emigre [traitors] but also carries out through them war preparations [designated] by the Atlantic Pact. . . . The Polish Government places responsibility on the British Government . . . for acting in bad faith . . . and breaking all promises, and reserves for itself the right to sue for its claims."

#### **Anti-Semitic**

Throughout February, the Hungarian Communist Government continued its anti-Semitic offensive. On February 9, the Budapest daily *Szabad Nep* published an attack against the American Joint Distribution Committee in which it asserted that the organization gives lavish aid to Trotskyites, bourgeois nationalists, kulaks, refugees from behind the Iron Curtain, and the dregs of society, while on the other hand, it "flatly refused to establish a fund for West European Jewish organizations which grew out of the resistance, and which, according to Washington, are too progressive."

On February 19, parroting earlier statements, *Szabad Nep* declared: "The assassins, spies and diversionists belonging to Joint carry out the most outrageous tasks required by Wall Street. They do not shrink from resorting to the most inhuman methods. . . . The British Secret Service has recruited all kinds of Jewish bourgeois nationalists and has thereby contributed to . . . strengthening Zionism. American imperialists began to take an interest in Zionists after they entered the service of the British spy organization. Wall Street . . . was able to buy up all Zionist organizations within 15-20 years."

*Szabad Nep*, February 14, blamed the bomb explosion near the Soviet Embassy in Tel-Aviv on the Israeli Government:

"Who could have wanted this atrocity? Who would have wanted to make it impossible for Soviet diplomats to work in Israel? The same people who send assassins . . . to the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, who are trying to start a new war . . . and who want to destroy normal relations between various states: the American imperialists . . . the Ben Gurions and Sharett, who long ago became imperialist agents. Those supported by dollars."

Similar editorials appeared all during the month. In addition, new arrests of police officers of Jewish origin have been reported. Marton Karoly, Istvan Balint, and Miklos Bauer are now in prison along with Gabor Peter, Gyula Decsi, Zoltan Vas and a score of their colleagues.

#### **Law to Prevent Labor Migration**

At its seventh regular session held between February 1-10, the Bulgarian National Assembly approved the 19.02 billion *leva* State Budget for 1953, and passed several new laws. One of these is intended to prevent labor migration in factories and State offices. It forbids factory and white collar workers to leave their jobs, or to change jobs without permission. If they break their work contracts without official consent, they will be held guilty of intentional sabotage and severely punished. Office managers and factory directors who fail to enforce work contracts are also liable to punishment. According to the newspaper *Rabotnicheskoe Delo* (Sofia), February 11, the purpose of this law is to help strengthen the country's economic and defense power. What it actually signifies is greater regimentation of Bulgarian workers, so that the country can fulfill its economic and military obligations to the Soviet Union.

Another new law deals with the election of representatives to the National Assembly. It stipulates that every citizen 18 years of age or over who has not been deprived of his political rights, is entitled to vote. There will be only one approved candidate for each constituency chosen by the local Fatherland Front organization and approved at a public meeting. If a deputy dies or resigns, new elections are to be held in his district within two months after he has vacated his post. The new law is obviously a travesty of democratic procedure, since all candidates will be Communist-approved and Communist-sponsored.

#### **Trial of Saboteurs**

Last August *Rabotnicheskoe Delo* published a letter written to Prime Minister Vulko Chervenkov by press correspondent Paul Genov, who accused managers and tech-

nicians of the Brashlian irrigation system in Russe of having a "criminal attitude" in their work. In November, the Council of Ministers decided to prosecute the group under attack, and the Presidium of the National Assembly dismissed Vulko Vulkov as President of the District People's Council of Russe for inefficient supervision of this project. On February 22, Radio Sofia announced that a trial of Vulkov and nine other defendants had taken place between February 16-19. The "gang" was accused of tolerating errors in the construction of the Brashlian irrigation system and causing heavy losses to the national economy. All the defendants "admitted" their guilt. Vulkov was sentenced to six years in prison; six defendants were sent to prison for periods ranging from one to five years; and three other defendants were sentenced to corrective labor for periods ranging from two to eight months. It is noteworthy that one of the accused, Liliiana Vulcheva, was a former Communist Vice-Minister of Agriculture.

#### **The Baltics**

On February 23, the Supreme Council of Soviet Latvia adopted a new national flag and unanimously approved the division of the country into three administrative districts. The Council also accepted the resignations of Chairman of the Council of Ministers Konstantin Novikov, Head of the Office of Culture A. F. Abolins, member of the Supreme Court R. K. Velde, Minister of Light Industry Zelma Cabis, Head of the Art Department F. R. Rokpelnis, and Minister of Finance Vilhelms Lecis. E. Meija was made Chairman of the Department of Culture; V. Dodonkin, Minister of Light Industry; V. Kalpins, Head of the Art Department; F. Manoilo, Minister of Finance; Paul Litvinov, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers; and N. Kovalchuk, Minister of Security. It is significant that three Russians replaced the former Latvian Ministers of Security, Finance and Light Industry.

Election results in the Baltic countries revealed once again the total absence of democratic procedure in Communist-dominated states. In Latvia, nearly 100 percent of the electorate "went" to the polls on March 1. 17,391 representatives were elected—6,241 Communists, and 11,150 Party-sponsored non-Communists. In Estonia, 10,225 people's representatives were elected on February 22. 99.82 percent of the 876,024 electorate voted, and only 5,262 persons voted against the regime-approved candidates. In the February 22 Lithuanian elections, it was alleged that 99.94 percent of the electorate voted, and that 99.87 percent voted for Communist-promoted candidates.

# Working for the State

## I. TAXES AND THE STATE

Under present systems of taxation in the captive countries, income, excise, and other "taxes on the population" provide a relatively small percentage of the government's income. These are, in the words of Bulgarian Minister of Finance Kiril Lazarov (*Izgrev* [Sofia], May 1950), "more important from a political than from an economic point of view, i.e., to limit and, further, to liquidate capitalist elements in our country."

Consequently, the lion's share of State revenue is derived from taxes on non-nationalized industries. This levy, applied to gross volume of sales and varying with the type of enterprise, is called a "turnover tax." It is imposed only on non-nationalized industries, however; all State industries are exempt.

### Bulgaria

The importance of the "turnover tax" becomes apparent from data, given below, on the revenues of Bulgarian State budgets for the past three years: (Although income taxes are not shown separately, based on previous budgets, they comprise about 60 percent of the "tax on the population")

	1951	1952	1953	
	(in millions of new leva)			
State Revenue..	12,379	100.0%	15,826	100.0%
From turnover tax .....	5,564	45.0%	7,831	50.0%
From taxes on the population ...	988	7.5%	1,154	7.3%
	1,250		1,250	6.6%

The decrease in the percentage of "taxes on the population" in the revenue of the State budget does not mean, however, that this income has decreased. Rather, the *leva* income has increased from 928,000,000 in 1951 to 1,250,000,000 in 1953. But this increase is small compared to the general increase of the budget.

### Income Tax

The income tax law was passed by the National Assembly on May 27, 1950. Article 1 provides for tax levies on:

\* For a report on Czechoslovak taxes see the February 1953 issue, pp. 43, 44.

"[a] Bulgarian citizens, regardless of their place of residence, who have obtained their income in the country or have brought it from abroad;

"[b] Cooperatives;

"[c] Foreign citizens, who have obtained their income in the country;

"[d] Joint companies, Ltd.; foreign companies and their branches (on income obtained in the country);

"[e] Labor Cooperative Farms."

Article 4 covers salaries, wages and other remunerations of workers and employees:

Monthly income	tax
200 <i>leva</i> .....	4.00 <i>leva</i>
400 " .....	13.60 "
600 " .....	25.00 "
720 " .....	40.80 "

"Income above this sum is taxed 12 percent.

"Income tax is calculated by State offices and enterprises and is deducted from salaries and wages."

Article 10 covers lawyers:

Monthly income	tax
400 <i>leva</i> .....	32 <i>leva</i>
800 " .....	80 "
3,200 " .....	805 "

"Income above this sum is taxed 48 percent."

Article 13 covers business men, artisans, independent professional people, income from rent and others:

Monthly income	tax
4,000 <i>leva</i> .....	180 <i>leva</i>
8,000 " .....	1,020 "
40,000 " .....	12,460 "

"Income above this sum is taxed 48 percent."

The income tax on cooperatives and companies is based on their profits (Article 19):

	percent
a/ Labor productive cooperatives.....	25
b/ Other kinds of cooperatives.....	35
c/ Central and local cooperative unions.	45
d/ Consumers and credit cooperatives and private companies.....	55

Articles 15 and 17 cover private farmers and members of the cooperative farms:

Income	tax
2,000 leva —	80 leva
4,000 " —	180 "
12,000 " —	1,600 "
40,000 " —	10,900 "

The income tax of the peasant is determined according to Article 28 of the Law:

Income from 1 decare sown with grain is	120 leva;
" " 1 " " tobacco	280 "
" " 1 cow	480 "
" " 1 goat	96 "
" " 1 pig	600 "

These figures are based on gross income (higher than average).

According to Article 34 of the Law, the taxation of the peasants is accomplished by "special notes," prepared by the organs of the Local People's Councils, a circumstance enabling the arbitrary levy of taxes, dependent on whether the person is for or against the regime.

If a peasant hires workers, his tax increases (Article 36):

	percent
1 worker .....	10
2 workers .....	15
3 workers or more.....	30

The income of members of cooperative farms, based on work days, is not taxable. Only income derived from land rent is taxable (Article 2).

The TKZS (cooperative farms) pay a tax of 7 percent of taxable income (Article 22). The taxable income of the cooperative farms is the gross income in money or products, realized during the year, minus: (a) the amount of money received from the sale of compulsory deliveries to the State; (b) seeds used for sowing and fodder used for cattle.

The TKZS are exempt from taxes for the first two years of their formation.

#### Turnover Tax

*Izvestia*, organ of the Presidium of the National Assembly, November 13, 1951, published the turnover tax law, which was approved on November first. The most important sections are:

##### *Article 1. Taxation on:*

- (a) the turnover of State and cooperative enterprises and public organizations from the sale of products and materials;

(b) remunerations, received by State, cooperative and public enterprises and organizations for services rendered;

(c) the turnover from the sale of tickets for plays and other entertainments.

*"Article 3.* The amount of turnover tax from the sale of products, materials and services rendered is defined according to a tariff approved by the Council of Ministers.

*"Article 7.* All turnover obtained by the sale of goods and materials sold by enterprises and organizations to other enterprises and private persons is taxable.

*"Article 9.* The same products and materials are taxable only once, and all further turnover of these products and materials, in an unchanged condition, is not subject to a new tax.

*"Article 14.* The tax is defined according to a tariff, in conformity with Article 3, and is calculated as follows:

(a) in percentages of the turnover of the sale's price: to producer, wholesaler and retailer;

(b) according to a table in *leva* based on an established unit;

(c) in the form of the difference between the retail sales price and the producer's price after the deduction of the established trade discount.

*"Article 30.* Private enterprises producing goods for the market pay a turnover tax 5 units larger than the fixed norms in the tariffs. Private enterprises, artisans and others fulfilling orders with materials supplied by the client, pay an income tax increased by 20 percent instead of a turnover tax."

#### Local Taxes and Fees

At present, excise (commodity) taxes are abolished in Bulgaria. They are included in the turnover tax. There is no land tax either. There is only a property tax, which is a local one, for the benefit of the People's Councils.

A special law voted by the National Assembly on December 21, 1951, provides for the collection of taxes by the Local People's Council:

"The Law includes all local taxes and fees and the right of the People's Councils to collect them. Local taxes and fees are considered as income of the Municipal People's Councils." (*Zemedelsko Zname*, Sofia, December 22, 1951)

The law published in *Izvestia* of the Presidium of the National Assembly on December 28, 1951, contains the following regulations:

*General—Article 1.* City, village and county People's Councils collect the following taxes: (a) property tax; (b) inheritance tax; (c) military tax;

*Article 2.* The People's Councils collect taxes on services rendered by them. The taxes are simple and payable in cash or in 'tax stamps.'

*Property tax—Article 5.* Tax on property (buildings) and lots . . .

*Article 9.* The tax is estimated according to the value of said buildings and lots:

[a] State buildings and lots, cooperative and public enterprises and organizations—1 per mil of the estimated value;

[b] buildings and lots belonging to private persons or companies—2 per mil of the estimated value.

**Inheritance tax**—Article 22. Tax is collected on properties obtained by inheritance or will. Taxes are collected from Bulgarian citizens on properties in or out of the country, as well as from foreign citizens owning properties in the country.

(Article 27.) Taxes are set according to the following table:

Share (in leva)	tax
up to 8,000 . . . . .	2 percent
" " 16,000 . . . . .	160 leva
" " 24,000 . . . . .	400 "
" " 40,000 . . . . .	720 "
" " 120,000 . . . . .	10,680 "
above . . . . .	50 percent

**Military tax**—The basic tax is 80 leva per year plus one percent of income after taxes (income and property). All male citizens, between the ages of 20 to 50 years, living at home or abroad, who have not served in the army or the labor troops, or who are incapable of such service, are subject to this tax (Article 33).

### Poland

There are several kinds of taxes in Poland, and it is quite possible that one person might be required to file more than one income tax return. The most important of these taxes are: the turnover tax, the tax on non-salary income, the tax on wages, the land tax, and the tax on acquired property rights. These taxes are collected for the State Treasury.

#### Turnover Tax

The rules governing this tax, which is applicable to individuals, corporate and non-corporate associations, are laid down in the decree of October 26, 1950 (Journal of Laws, No. 49, 1950, Item 449). The socalized sector of the economy is exempt. The turnover of goods and services are subject to this tax and the scale varies according to trades and professions. For example, printing establishments pay 1 percent of the turnover; firms buying and selling half-finished goods for further processing, pay 2.5 percent of the turnover; artisan shops consisting of the owner, two members of his family, and no more than one hired man, pay 3.5 percent; pharmacies—4 percent; law offices—6 percent; restaurants—30 percent; and boarding houses—20 percent.

#### Tax on Non-salary Income

This tax applies to the incomes of artisans; of professionals, such as doctors and architects; private income from capital; shares in limited partnership, etc. Rates are from 2 percent to 65 percent. In general, rates for artisan shops and independent professions are lower than those for income derived from capital and limited partnerships. Exemptions are provided for people having more than three

children. Families with more than six children and an income of less than 10,800 zlotys a year, are exempt. Women with two children pay 50 percent of the normal scale and those with four children are exempt. Unmarried people or couples without children, if their income exceeds 7,200 zlotys a year, pay an additional 20 percent.

#### Tax on Wages

According to an ordinance of the Ministry of the Treasury, January 24, 1950 (Journal of Laws No. 1, 1950, Art. 3), rates vary from 0.7 percent (for income not exceeding 441 zlotys a month) to 21.8 percent (for income not exceeding 5,150 zlotys a month). Incomes over 441 zlotys a month are taxed 21.9 percent and those exceeding 5,150 a month, 28.5 percent. A 50 percent exemption is granted to families having more than two children, and those with six children or more are totally exempt. Women with one child, pay 25 percent less, with two children—50 percent less, with more than four children—nothing. These exemptions apply only in cases where the total income does not exceed 945 zlotys a month. Unmarried people, if their income exceeds 630 zlotys a month, pay 20 percent more. Married couples without children, if their monthly income exceeds 786 zlotys, pay 10 percent more. Shockworkers are favored by a 30 percent reduction from the normal scale.

#### Tax on Acquired Property Rights

The decree covering this tax was passed on February 3, 1947, and revised in 1951. The transfer of property rights is subject to this tax: the scale is 6 percent for acquired real estate; 1 percent for acquired rights to loans, debts and valuable papers; 0.5 percent for promissory notes for acquired rights; and in all other cases, from 2.5 to 3.5 percent. The transfer of property valued below 450 zlotys is tax free. The transfer of property valued above 45,000 zlotys is taxed from 20 to 72 percent, according to kind.

#### Land Tax

This tax was discussed in the February, 1953 issue, on page 44.

#### Local Taxes

There are also local taxes payable to the National Councils, such as the real estate tax, rent tax, market tax, and military tax. There is no excise tax.

#### Real Estate Tax

Buildings, houses, and lots remaining in private hands are subject to this tax. Houses and lots belonging to the State and its enterprises are exempt, as are buildings which are 50 percent State-owned, the property of the cooperative centrals, buildings serving educational and cultural purposes, and buildings serving agricultural holdings. Taxes are deducted from the rent and the scale runs from 1 to 25 percent.

#### Rent Tax

If the lease gives the tenant the right to sublet, such accommodation or space is subject to taxation. The scale is 100 percent of the rent in apartments rented before November 1, 1936, and 10 percent in all other cases. In cases of

storage space, shops, etc., the tax runs from 15 to 30 percent of the basic rent.

#### Market Tax

This tax is paid by peddlers and people who sell goods on the market place and is scaled from 1.50 to 6.00 *zlotys* per day.

#### Military Tax

All men who did not serve in the army, and who are between 18 to 50 years of age, pay a tax of 50 to 500 *zlotys* per year.

In addition to these taxes there are city taxes, luxury apartment taxes, taxes for dogs, and hunting and fishing taxes.

All revenue from these taxes goes into the so-called "local budgets."

All local taxes are dealt with in the law of February 26, 1951 (Journal of Laws No. 14, Art. 110).

#### Compulsory Savings

In 1948, a system of compulsory saving was introduced in Poland and subsequently revised several times. Compulsory saving should be considered as a form of taxation because the people have virtually no right to withdraw their money from the savings funds towards which they are obliged to contribute. There are four such savings funds: "A" for small private industry and handicraft, "B" for agriculture, "C" for hired labor, and "D" for sea-fishing.

All persons working in these sectors are required to contribute either in proportion to their income, or to the taxes they pay.

The rates of contribution for fund "A" are: 2 percent of yearly incomes which do not exceed 12,000 *zlotys*, and 15 percent for those above this amount.

Rates for fund "B" are much higher. The peasants are required to contribute 20 percent of their land tax if their yearly income does not exceed 7,800 *zlotys*, and 130 percent if their yearly income exceeds 13,800 *zlotys*. This particular fund is devised as a weapon against the richer peasants.

Contributions to fund "C" are set at 1 percent, if the monthly wage does not exceed 1,260 *zlotys*, and 3 percent if it exceeds 1,800 *zlotys*.

Contributions to fund "D" are rated in proportion to the value of the catch, and rates run from 0.1 to 4 percent.

These saving funds are at the disposal of the State and are chiefly used to foster "socialization" of the economy.

It becomes readily apparent, from the above data, that the underlying principle of taxation in Poland is the principle of class discrimination. *Zycie Gospodarcze* No. 15, 1950 wrote:

"In the people's democracies, taxes serve the ends of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are an efficient tool of class warfare and are devised to help in the process of limiting and ousting capitalistic elements from the national economy."

As one can see, State owned enterprises are specifically exempt from the turnover tax, from real estate taxes,

rent taxes, and taxes on acquired property rights. But according to law, they are bound to pay taxes on non-salary incomes and land, and such taxes are shown in the State budget. However, since the State enterprises are not separated from the budget, such taxes are meaningless.

#### Romania

With the June 1948 expropriation of the means of production, most taxable properties, funds and incomes became State property and, since the State cannot tax itself for its own benefit the reason for taxing them disappeared. Therefore, a fiscal reform became necessary. This was accomplished by Law No. 6, enforced on January 1, 1949—simultaneous with the introduction of the first One Year Plan. Under this law, the numerous taxes and fees of the past have been reduced to six main taxes, including a general income tax and a tax on incomes from peasant farms.

During the last four years, the proportion of State income derived from taxation has been continuously increased. Although legislation presently in force—Decree No. 4/1952—provides deductions for the dependents of working people, subsequent amendments and interpretations have thinned these deductions out so that at the present time only a negligible fraction of the workers' income may be used to support the non-working members of their families.

Income taxes are graduated from 5 to 25 percent on incomes derived from work in State administration and enterprises. Independent professionals (professors, physicians, lawyers, etc.) pay a graduated tax of 20 to 40 percent. Independent handcraftsmen and transporters, without hired help, pay a tax of 25 to 43 percent on their earnings. The heaviest taxes are assessed on the incomes of merchants, small industrialists (who have survived the nationalization law), handcraftsmen, and transporters employing not more than one salaried worker: from 40 to more than 60 percent. If the merchants handle what are now considered, in the Soviet sphere, as "luxury" commodities—neckties, socks, soap, etc.—their taxes are raised an additional 15 to 20 percent. If the other three categories of taxpayers employ more than one wage earner, their taxes are also raised 15 to 20 percent. The result is that they must pay from 46 to over 70 percent of their total earnings in taxes.

Moreover, all taxpayers are required to pay various taxes to local authorities on real property, on vehicles of any kind, livestock, etc.

An additional 10 percent of gross wages and salaries is deducted for social security.

Finally, there is the long list of "voluntary" contributions and fees which are deducted for a multitude of purposes, without the previous consent of the wage earner. Among these deductions are: Party dues, trade union fees, contributions for sports and cultural activities, subscriptions to Party newspapers and magazines (and, since 1952, to Soviet ones), contributions for Korean relief, etc.

Remaining income is subject to various adjustments brought about through a skillful, though often reckless, manipulation of the pricing policy.

Income taxes do not constitute a major part of budgetary revenue. A comparison between total revenue and income tax revenue during the last five years would give this picture (figures are expressed in old *lei*, i.e., rates existing prior to the monetary reform of January 1952):

	Total revenue	Personal Income Taxes
	(in billions) of old <i>lei</i>	
1949	273.3	25.6
1950	399.0	33.1
1951	567.5	39.0
1952	683.5	60.3
1953 (draft)	715.2	60.1

The main source of revenue is, as in Bulgaria, derived from the so-called "turnover tax." This tax is applied to domestic consumption, and its assessment is not bound by any fixed or graduated percentages.

### Hungary

Taxation in present-day Hungary also follows the Soviet pattern. Since the "private sector" is gradually being eliminated, the whole system is based on taxes paid by concerns, cooperatives, etc., under State management. No exact data are available at present, but under the 1937 budget, the national income was derived from the following sources:

	Percent
Straight taxes . . . . .	42.79
Sales taxes . . . . .	17.01
Dues on legal transactions . . . . .	13.32
Consumer taxes (on beer, wines, liquors and meats) . . . . .	11.73
Tariffs . . . . .	5.53
Monopolies (dues on tobacco, salt, matches and pure spirits) . . . . .	9.62
	100.00

In the same year, the total amount of taxes levied on the population was 1,138,000,000 *pengos*—an average 125.91 *pengos* per capita.

In 1953, the total national income scheduled to be derived from public levies amounts to 52,739,000 *forints* and, the average levy per person, including children, will be 5,762 *forints*. 40,152,000 *forints* (76.1 percent) will be contributed by the "socialist sector." Of this amount, the manufacturers' sales tax alone amounts to 27,690,000 *forints*—52.5 percent of the total national income.

The profits of nationalized concerns, collective farms, etc., are estimated at 8,559 million *forints*. Of this amount, the income derived from farmers' cooperatives (*kolkhozi*) and industrial producers' cooperatives is estimated at 936 million *forints*, and the total amount of straight taxes paid by the population, at 4,219,000 *forints*. The yearly compulsory loans ("Peace Loans") which may be regarded

as concealed taxes, will amount to a minimum 1,500,000 *forints* this year. Another form of hidden taxation, which directly concerns farmers and consumers, is contained in the government's practice of purchasing farm products at minimum, State-controlled prices to be resold at enormous profit.

### II. TRADE UNIONS AND THE WORKER

In Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and Romania, as a direct result of shortcomings in the 1952 Plan requirements, meetings have been called by the trade unions to reevaluate production norms, administrative procedure, work competition, methods of election, etc. Perhaps the most significant change has occurred in Czechoslovakia, where an attempt to restore the workers' confidence in the democratic character of their unions has led to the re-introduction of secret balloting in the election of union functionaries.

#### Return to the Secret Ballot

While still Prime Minister, Antonin Zapotocky explained the reintroduction of the secret ballot in Czechoslovak trade union elections in *Prace* (Prague), on January 25:

"... We shall maintain the uniform list of candidates, but shall grant the right of secret ballot and selection of candidates, by permitting members to cross names from the list and replace them with others. . . . Our trade union organization, with its membership of three and one-half million, represents an immense force capable of realizing . . . socialism in our country. It is, however, vital that we really activate and direct the masses to that aim. . . ."

The new rules abolish the previously required majority of 80 percent in electing officials (in the absence of such a majority, officials were appointed by higher echelons). However, only such candidates as have gone through union schooling (open to Party members only) are eligible.

Other details appeared in *Prace* on March 1:

"The annual meeting is authorized to pass decisions only when at least two-thirds of the members are present. . . . The new election rules intensify democratic procedures . . . by stipulating the election of a work presidium. Until now, the annual meeting has been presided over by the chairman of the plan council, whose duty it also is to present a report on Union activities. In future, the chairman will still deliver his report, but the meeting will be presided over by the work presidium, elected directly from the plenum. This should allow for the widest critical evaluation of the work of the functionaries, while ensuring the most responsible election of new representatives."

However, officials elected in this manner will create additional expenses for the unions—*Prace*, January 23:

"It is time that the functionaries of plant councils be paid from the budget of the plant councils and unions. Thus, they would become independent of plant managements. . . . Such a measure would also help to eliminate frequent irregularities in their wages. In many of our

plants a situation has developed whereby these same functionaries have become the highest paid employees . . . ill-equipping them for the fight against wage policy disorders and unjustified earnings resulting from easy norms, overtime pay, fictitious premiums, etc. They can't very well fight against such disorder while their high wages, supposed to equal average earnings, [include such] easy norms, overtime and premiums."

An article in the March 3 issue of *Prace* will perhaps explain the necessity for this revaluation of the position of union functionaries:

"Some union functionaries assume their task to be opposition to plant management, to make claims upon the State without being fully aware that today we have another management and another State, and that, in the workers' interest, the fight today is different—it is the fight for increased production. . . . Instead of discovering their main task to be the education and mobilization of the workers for building up socialism, they wish to gain negligible small advantages for the workers, even to the disadvantage of other groups of employees.

"The chief aim of the . . . working class today must be for increased productivity by means of gigantic expansion of socialist competition, application of new methods of work and abolition of easy, obsolete norms. Some functionaries, however, consider . . . their task to be the attempt to win as much as possible for 'their workers' in 'their plant' without concern for the total interests of the working class. They bring their claims to the plant management, to the ministries, to the National Committees. They protest against the setting of norms, against the exposure of 'black wages'. Such behavior was correct under capitalism, when the workers aimed at cheating the norm-setter and at maintaining easy norms, because at that time it was one of the ways of opposing increasing exploitation. But what was correct then is incorrect today. We no longer have exploiters to be opposed by the working class. Nevertheless, there are still workers as well as functionaries who defend easy norms as 'revolutionary gain'. . . ."

An exiled Czechoslovak economist interprets these changes as follows:

"From these reports it would appear that the company union system, common in Czechoslovakia until now, is due for a re-adjustment. There have been an increasing number of cases where plant union councils either join with the management in disregarding government regulations, or oppose an activist management.

"The new measures seem designed to mold the unions, with their three and one-half million members, into an organization which will not allow the management to 'conspire' with the workers on the one hand, and on the other, will help to enforce government policies while enjoying fake 'democracy.'"

#### Polish Congress

Sessions of the Eleventh Congress of the Central Council of Trade Unions were held in Warsaw on February 18 and 19. The Council represents over 30 different unions with a total membership of over four million and is elected by the National Congress of Trade Unions for a period of

three years. It is composed of 99 members and 33 deputies. The Presidium is composed of 21 members. The executive body of the Council consists of the Secretariat which acts as the executive body, and is composed of one chairman, two vice-chairmen and four secretaries. Control over the entire organization is exercised by the Control Committee (seven members and three deputy members).

The Congress was attended by chairmen and secretaries of the executive committees of all the trade unions as well as chairmen and secretaries of the district councils and shop-committees from large enterprises.

*Glos Pracy* (Warsaw) reported on February 19 and 20, that the Congress "mapped out tasks for 1953" after the main address, delivered by Wiktor Klosiewicz, chairman of the Council, who sharply attacked activists of local unions, particularly those on shop-committees:

". . . Non-fulfillment of the Plan reminds us that we, the Trade Unions, have not discharged our principal duty to the Party . . . with regard to labor competition. . . . We must point out that in many cases, the interest of local trade unions in competition got no further than the drawing up of lists of pledges. . . . Our local unions have now adopted a liberal attitude toward the non-fulfillment of plans. . . ."

Klosiewicz's entire speech dealt with the problems of Plan fulfillment, labor competition and "the basic role" of the trade unions in relation to this competition. Little was said regarding the workers' living conditions and the problem of wages was completely ignored.

#### Progress Report

The Eighteenth Congress of Hungarian Trade Unions was opened in Budapest on February 27. Six hundred delegates of the twenty trade unions active at present attended, as well as Prime Minister Matyas Rakosi and Deputy Prime Minister Erno Gero. The following quotations (*Nepszava*, February 28) are from a speech by Istvan Kristof, a member of the Political Committee of the Party and secretary general of the National Council of Trade Unions, who was the second speaker:

"The Stakhanovite movement is making good progress; in 1949 there were only five thousand Stakhanovites, and today their number exceeds 63,000. By the end of 1952, there were 6,620 Stakhanovites among the technical intelligentsia. . . . There is [a] frequent mistake for which certain ministerial agencies and trade union councils are to be blamed: as soon as an outstanding Stakhanovite is discovered, he is taken out of his field of activity and given a clerical job. Such methods will stifle the Stakhanovite movement . . .

"A large network of labor protection activists has been built up in our factories, with the participation of more than 13,000 voluntary social workers . . . Thanks to our Party and government, today more than 5,500,000 workers are covered by social insurance; that is, 60 percent of the country's population, double the number insured in 1938. . . ."

"Since the Seventeenth Congress, the membership of our trade unions has grown [present membership is

1,770,650: Radio Kossuth, February 28, 1953] and their influence over the new members of the working class has considerably increased. We have succeeded in realizing the principle of 'one plant—one trade union' . . . At present we have 20 trade unions. . . . The ever greater role played by women in society and production, and the fact that factory organizations of the Women's League have ceased to exist, has prompted us to establish women's shop committees. At present we have 1,730 such committees. . . . At last year's trade union elections more than 250,000 major and minor trade union leaders were elected. However, the uninterrupted guidance and teaching of these leaders has not yet been realized . . . The chairmen of the shop committees are the leading local trade union functionaries . . . The trusted agents are in charge of mass activities in the plants. . . . [The number of trade union trusted agents is 65,000. *Nepszava*, February 6.]

"Our trade unions carry on international activities mainly within the World Federation of Trade Unions. The membership of this international organization of the working class has grown from 67 million to over 80 million, in spite of the fact that the traitor renegades quit the world organization in 1949 and induced agencies under their control to quit too . . .

"Eighteen trade union delegations from the Soviet Union have visited our country. All of them imparted to us their wealth of experience, and showed us the way in all fields of trade union activity. A total of 96 Hungarian trade union delegations have visited other people's democratic countries, including China and East Germany. From these countries, 109 trade union delegations, five of them Chinese, toured our country. A total of 649 delegates from 28 capitalist countries have visited our country on 140 occasions. . . ."

In conclusion Istvan Kristof set the tasks to be performed:

"Our first and most important task is to eliminate the shortcomings of the competition movement . . . Next, trade union activity in the plants must be intensified . . . The trade unions must continually keep in mind the problems of protecting labor. . . . Trade unions are the schools of Communism and for this reason the most important goal in trade union enlightenment and educational work is the strengthening of socialist relations to labor, and consolidating of socialist labor discipline. The most important duty of our trade unions is to widely disseminate and popularize the experiences gained in the Soviet Union. . . ."

The resolutions adopted at the Congress consisted entirely of orders to the workers. The workmen's demands and their rights were never mentioned. The delegates were not representatives of the workmen, but executive agents of the Communist State. There are 250,000 trade union functionaries working in Hungarian factories; in other words, one for every seven trade union members. If we count the functionaries of other mass-organizations and Party agents, we find that there is one for every four to five trade union members.

### More for Less

At the beginning of March, workers in the Calan and August 23 metallurgical works in Romania met at their respective union headquarters to ask "spontaneously" that production norms be raised 40 to 60 percent. They claimed, in fact, that such increases already exist in their divisions and that an official order would simply mean official recognition. Such an order would mean that other divisions would have to raise their norms equally in order to coordinate production levels.

Other enterprises, chiefly in the smelting and forging, and the metallurgical industries, followed with demands for reorganization, revised norms and, especially, creation of new "reserve teams." The latter are tantamount to a fourth shift and are required to keep the machines running constantly.

During the presentation of the 1953 Budget to the National Assembly on January 24, the Minister of Finance dedicated half of his speech to non-budgetary topics such as exact fulfillment of Plan targets. He stressed the fact that the financial plan can only be achieved if production costs are substantially reduced. This reduction alone represents some six percent of estimated budgetary revenue for 1953.

An exiled Romanian economist adds:

"A reduction in production costs can be attained only by raising the obligatory daily norms—production per man per shift—without increasing real wages.

"At about the same time as the Budget, the government issued a decision ordering an increase in production norms. Therefore, the subsequent spontaneous movement of the workers is no more than fulfillment of official orders.

"As in any other Soviet-dominated country, the task of enforcing such changes rests upon the trade unions. In the present case, however, the task is so great that it cannot be entrusted solely to the unions, and all economic organizations, administrative apparatus and Party machinery have been called upon to help. Hence, during the last Trade Union Convention held on January 31, 1953, the workers were presented with a new statute which provides that the activities of the Trade unions will be guided and controlled by the Communist Party—a reform of great importance for the Romanian trade union system is thereby shaped on the Soviet model with the responsibility of compelling the workers to produce more for less to fulfill annual Plans."

### New Norms

Point 11 of the decision of the Fourth Plenum of the Central Council of Trade Unions, printed in *Trud* (Sofia), January 31, 1953, advocates the revision of production norms in Bulgaria:

"The old production norms do not correspond to technical standards, reflect the achievements of production leaders, or help to increase labor productivity. That is why the Plenum has ordered the Trade Unions to establish a permanent control to carry out a periodic and legal check on . . . norms and their correction. . . ."

*The Handbook of the Agitator* No. 3, January, 1953, included an article on the same subject:

"Norms . . . no longer correspond to new organizational, technical and production conditions, and cannot fulfill the requirements of the 1953 Plan. . . . [This] disparity . . . is felt by many shock workers, who have lately expressed their desire to increase norms. That is why the decree of the Council of Ministers of December 30, 1952, ordered the creation of new production norms in all ministries, effective as of February 1, 1953. . . ."

A later article in *Trud*, February 1, 1953, warned against haste:

"The correction of norms must not be accomplished by means of a simple mechanical increase in the average percentage over already existing norms. Corrections should be made for every kind of work . . . after a detailed study of conditions and possibilities. . . ."

News of activity along these lines appeared in the following papers:

*Trud*, February 5:

"For the past few days the new production norms have been discussed in the Maritsa mine in Dimitrovgrad. . . . The collective of the Titania factory in Sofia discussed the new, corrected norms and established measures to secure their systematic fulfillment. . . ."

*Trud*, February 7:

"The 1953 production plan of the State industrial enterprise, Vela Piskova, includes a high increase in labor productivity. . . . The cotton industry began the revision of all labor norms on January 12 . . ."

*Rudnichar*, February 11:

". . . production norms in the coal industry have increased 13.2 percent since February 1 . . ."

*Trud*, February 13 (regarding the Plovdiv textile enterprises):

". . . In the textile enterprises, the norms in the weaving department have been increased 8 percent and in other departments—an average of 5 percent."

### III. THE BALTIC PART

The Baltic Republics are given particular jobs to do within the framework of the fifth Soviet Five Year Plan (1951-55). Some of these jobs pertain to all three countries but individual projects are also listed. The organ of the Latvian Communist Party, *Cina* (Riga), October 28, 1952, printed a two-page illustrated article detailing the percentage increases aimed at in the new Plan:

". . . the fishing fleet [must be increased] 3.8 times. . . . The production of naphtha—85 percent, electrical energy—80 percent . . . the naphtha industry will double work productivity. The capacity of electric plants will be doubled and hydroelectric plants will triple their output. . . .

"Twice as many building materials will be produced



Title: Agricultural production

Percentage increases:

Meat and bacon  
Milk  
Corn and flax



Title: Energy

Percentage increases:

Oil  
Hydroelectric  
Coal

as in 1950. Brick production will be increased 2.3 times, plaster—2.6 times, glass—4 times, and cement—2.2 times.

"The production of grain will increase 40 to 50 percent, cotton—55 to 65 percent, sugar beets—55 to 65 percent, potatoes—45 percent, meat and bacon—80 to 90 percent, milk—45 to 50 percent.

"Farming will be mechanized as follows: plowing and sowing—90 to 95 percent, threshing of grain with combines—80 to 90 percent, reaping of sugar beets—90 to 95 percent.

". . . work productivity must be increased 50 percent in industry, 55 percent in construction and 40 percent in agriculture. . . .

"National income will be increased 60 percent. . . . wages will increase. . . . [and] the income of kolkhoz peasants will increase in cash and goods produced. . . ."



(Note: The Plan is worded: "To build" the Narva and Riga stations and "to develop the construction" of the Kaunas station. Since construction of the Kaunas station has not begun, the "development of the construction" can only mean the development of blueprints.)

"To carry out extensive fish breeding in order to increase fish stocks especially in inland waters. To increase the catch of fish . . . approximately 3.9 times in five years."

(Note: The fishing plan was not achieved in full in 1951. The Ministry for the Fish Industry was sharply criticized during the first half of 1952 and a new Minister, E. Bilevicius-Sarin, was appointed.)

"To insure the further development in the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian SSR's of animal breeding, particularly milk cows and pigs . . . to raise the milk yield per cow in the county collective farms in non-Blackearth areas to 1,800 to 2,000 kilograms . . ."

(Note: The average annual pre-war yield per cow in non-Blackearth areas was 2,653 kilograms.)

"To reclaim marsh lands in the . . . Lithuanian SSR. . . . To increase the area of reclaimed lands by 40 to 45 percent."

(Note: This directive no doubt applies more to the other Baltic countries as the marsh land area in Lithuania is negligible.)

"To increase the network of machine-tractor stations . . . and equip them with tractors and agricultural machinery."

(Note: There are many indications that the government is particularly anxious to carry out this part of the plan in order to release more manpower for such jobs as wood-cutting in northern areas of the USSR.)

"To carry out the reconstruction of railway lines in the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian SSR's."

(Note: So far there are no indications that work has begun.)

"To improve shipping and increase passenger and freight transportation on the waterways of the Nemunas and Daugava Rivers. To provide for the building of bridges over the Nemunas River at Kaunas [Lithuania] and the Daugava River at Riga [Latvia]."

(Note: The bridge over the Nemunas River at Kaunas was blown up in June 1941. It has not yet been rebuilt, eight years after the war.)

"To insure the further development of sea transport in the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian SSR's; to enlarge the Riga [Latvia] and Klaipeda [Lithuania] ports."

(Note: The bridge over the Nemunas River at Kaunas peda. The manufacture of loading cranes has been increased at Klaipeda and according to the Lithuanian press, the Soviet ports of Odessa, Murmansk, etc., are also being supplied with such cranes.)



Title: Mechanization of Agriculture

#### Percentage increases:

- Plowing and Sowing
- Harvesting by combine
- Hay harvest and storing silage

From *Cina* (Riga), October 28, 1952

#### Lithuania

The following quotations are from the Soviet fifth Five Year Plan as broadcast by the Moscow radio:

"To insure an increase of 2 to 2.5 times in the production of electric power in the Lithuanian SSR. . . . To insure the further development of machine building: shipbuilding and the manufacture of turbines and machine tools. . . ."

(Note: The manufacture of turbines had already been developed at Kaunas, in a pre-war factory, which apparently was enlarged and accommodated for this job. There have been many announcements in the press related to the shipment of turbines made in Kaunas to construction sites of the hydroelectric plants at Stalingrad and Kuibyshev in the USSR.)

"To build the Narva hydroelectric station [Estonia], the Riga steam power plant [Latvia], and to develop the construction of the Kaunas hydroelectric station [Lithuania]."

#### Estonia

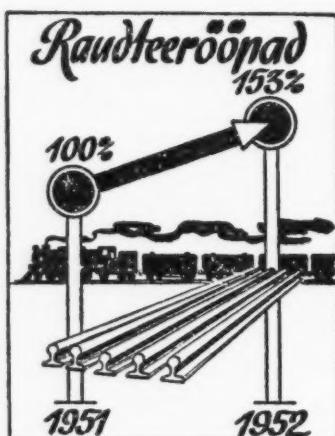
Particular attention is given to Estonian slate mines. According to Radio Tallinn, October, 1952, the government has ordered a 2.3 percent increase in slate production as well as an 80 percent increase in production of artificial gas and synthetic gasoline made from slate. At the begin-



Mechanization of Timber Loading

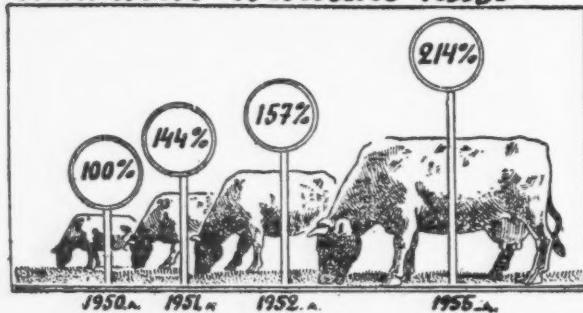


Turbo-generators



Rails (production)

### *Lehmade arvuline kasv:*



Increase in cows

From *Rahva Haal* (Tallinn), January 31 and February 13, 1953

ning of the fourth Five Year Plan, 1946-50, the slate industry was ordered to produce 8.4 million tons of slate by the end of 1950, to build four new slate oil distilleries and three large gas plants. Over 200,000 people were to be employed. However, at the end of 1951, slate production was little more than three million tons, not one oil distillery had been built, and only one gas plant (which supplies the city of Leningrad by pipeline) had been constructed.

It is possible to estimate from these statistics that slate production at the termination of the fifth Five Year Plan should be about seven million tons—one million tons less than required by the end of the fourth Five Year Plan.

No mention is made in the new Five Year Plan of the gas distilleries other than the gas pipeline from Kohtla-Jarve to Tallinn which is supposed to supply cheap household gas.\*

\* Considerable attention has been paid this pipe-line which, according to Radio Tallinn, was completed on February 14. It is 166 kilometers long and supplies both Leningrad and Tallinn with shale gas. Although the price has been set at "only 20 kopeks instead of one ruble per cubic meter," housewives are still not being supplied. Only "in the near future, [will] 54,000 workers' apartments in Tallinn" be supplied. (Radio Tallin, February 15.)

Estonia is included in the plans to increase electric power output by 2.5 percent. Besides the Narva hydroelectric power station, there are innumerable programs for highway and harbor development, expansion of the fishing and farm machine industries, increase of animal husbandry, and a phosphorus industry to be built in Mardu near Tallinn (a plan considered for over 15 years).

## IV. ESTONIAN PLAN FULFILLMENT

*Rahva Haal* (Tallinn), February 3, 1952, made public percentage fulfillment figures for the year 1952. As in the other Baltic countries, although it was claimed that many quotas were over-fulfilled, a number of specific targets, such as that for the lumber industry, were not met.

### Production

	Percent
Electric energy .....	105
Shale .....	107
Shale oil .....	107
Phosphate .....	94
Cement .....	101
Calcium .....	107
Bricks .....	91
Glass panes .....	128
Electric motors (to 100 kw.) .....	94
Electric motors (over 100 kw.) .....	93
Insulated wires .....	109
Radio receivers .....	100.1
Sowing machines .....	123
Output of timber (in forests) .....	93
Transport of timber (from forests) .....	106
Sawed and milled lumber .....	104
Veneer .....	98
Matches .....	98
Paper .....	102
Cotton cloth .....	95
Woolen cloth .....	100.3
Linen cloth .....	102
Rayon .....	104
Hard leather .....	102

## Economic

Leather footwear	92
Rubberwear	97
Fish	90
Canned Fish	91
Meat	122
Canned Meat	100.1
Sausage	102
Butter	102
Cheese	108
Flour	121
Bread	111
Confections	101
Alcoholic beverages	103
Beer	75
Cigarettes	108
Soap	103

### Agriculture

The report stated that work in kolkhoz tractor stations

increased 16 percent over 1951. "But part of the plan for tractor work . . . was not fulfilled. In many stations tractor repair progressed very unsatisfactorily. The repair plan for the fourth quarter has been fulfilled by 78 percent."

### Transport

The 1952 loading plan for the Estonian railroad (day-night average) was reportedly fulfilled 113 percent on wide-gauge and 101 percent on narrow-gauge railroads. Specific loading plans were completed as follows (in percentages):

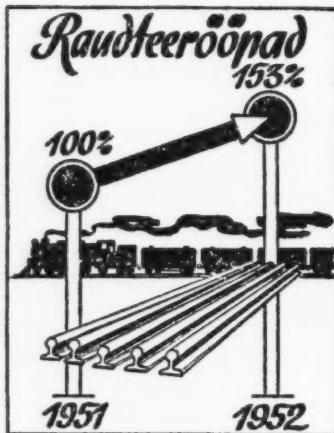
	Wide-gauge	Narrow-gauge
Shale	99	—
Timber	110	132
Wood	73	103
Mining construction materials	110	105
Naphtha products	114	180



Mechanization of Timber Loading

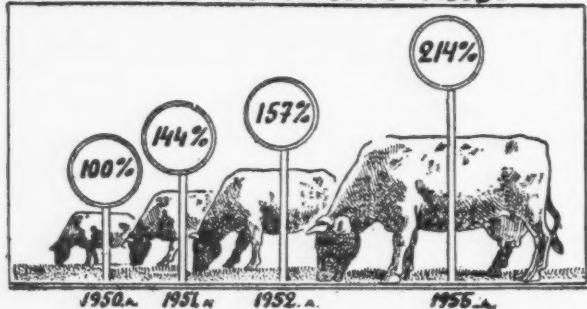


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Mining construction materials .....	110	105
Naphtha products .....	114	180

# Handmaidens of Communism

## Women in a New Dimension

INTERNATIONAL Women's Day, celebrated during the first week of March in the Soviet Union and all countries of the Soviet bloc, provides the annual occasion for a re-definition of the role of women under Communism. In the preceding weeks, the Communist press, sounding the note of militant feminism, contrasts the lot of Western woman—overworked, underpaid, and ruthlessly exploited by Church, husband and family—with her Soviet counterpart, who shares equal rights with men in "building Socialism, strengthening the defense of her homeland [and] the success of the Five-Year-Plan."

This year, the death of Stalin muted the noisy celebrations. In Hungary, Women's Day observance was cancelled by decree. In Bulgaria the publicity ordinarily accompanying the occasion was omitted from the newspapers and it is believed that no ceremonies were held. Scheduled demonstrations took place in Romania, Czechoslovakia and Poland, but were confined in content to formal expressions of bereavement and pledges to redouble working efforts. Deputy Prime Minister Uher, addressing the assembled women in Prague, said: "Soviet women cleared the path for you. Follow their example and you will learn to be invincible, brave, patriotic. All Czechoslovak women are proud that our People's Democratic Republic stands firmly in the ranks of the defenders of peace and is a true friend of our great ally, the Soviet Union."

Behind the Iron Curtain, the lives of millions of women are being transformed. What are the mechanics of this process? And what are its results in terms of a woman's relationship to her family, her home, and to society? The answers to these questions give an illuminating glimpse into everyday life in the Communist countries.

### I. WOMEN: WIVES, MOTHERS, CITIZENS

According to the dialectics of Marxist materialism, the relations between men and women are a form of social relationship the nature of which is determined by the

economic system of society at each stage of the development of civilization. Reasoning thus, monogamous marriage is based, not on ethical or personal prerogatives, but on economic conditions—on the victory of private property over primitive, communal property. In the Marxian view, monogamy arose from the concentration of property in the hands of a single individual and the need to bequeath it to the children of that individual and no other. "Marriage for the bourgeoisie is merely a means of accumulating wealth," wrote Marx and Engels.

As a "form of social relationship the nature of which is determined by the economic system," family relationships have undergone a theoretical shift in Communist-run countries. The most fundamental change is this: that marriage is no longer a private affair. *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), December 10, 1952, hailed a new law regulating marriage and divorce as welcome proof that "marriage has been taken out of the narrow circle of the immediate interests of the partners and treated as a basic concern of Socialist society." In Poland, the monthly *Panstwo i Prawo* (Warsaw) declared in 1946 that "the State, recognizing the family as the basic unit in society, has destroyed individualistic selfishness in family relations and proclaimed its right to intervene in these relations."

The core of Communist philosophy is, of course, equality. Equality for women in the legal, civic, economic, and social sphere is "guaranteed" in the Constitutions of all the captive countries. Further, bills meant to implement this principle of equality have been passed in all the captive countries and are almost uniform in their provisions, since they are all modelled on Soviet legislation in this field.

Under these so-called Family Rights Bills, man's position as legal head of the family, with greater property rights and financial responsibility, has been dissolved. Men are no longer legally required to support their wives. Parents have equal responsibility in the support of children. In divorce cases where alimony is established, the wife as well as the husband can be directed to contribute to support. A system of joint ownership provides that all

property acquired by either party during marriage is owned by both parties (with the exception of property held by one party before marriage, items inherited by one party during marriage, gifts, professional equipment, personal possessions, etc.).

Soviet and Satellite law provides that a married woman may retain her maiden name, without reference to her marital status, if prior to the marriage she declares her intention to do so. The parties to a marriage have a free choice between mutually adopting either the wife's or the husband's surname, or retaining their own names separately.

The two provisions which together constituted the most controversial and aggressive aspect of State intervention in family affairs were, first, the introduction of compulsory civil marriage, and second, the facilitation of divorce, particularly in the Catholic countries, where this was considered a violation of Church authority. In Czechoslovakia, Minister of Justice Alexej Cepicka introduced the new Family Rights Bill, December 7, 1949, in a speech which analyzed these provisions and attempted to forestall opposition by the Catholic Church and to reassure women who feared that the security of marriage was being imperiled:

"... the new Bill is guided by the principle that the family... is no longer a private matter, but carries an important social mission. This is the principle that the family, through the contribution of work made by its members, should strengthen the social order and especially ensure the Socialist upbringing of the children.

"... Among the many smaller and greater fundamental changes involved in the new Bill, some, at least, which have evoked most interest, call for a few words of comment ...

"1. Where the institution of marriage ceases to be a private affair, it is necessary that from the very beginning the participation of public authority be assured. Capitalist society gave the wedding ceremony the stamp of a private contract which in no way differed from contracts of sale and other commercial agreements. We have rid ourselves of this tradesman's attitude.... Since the State is providing economic security not only for marriage but for the family throughout the term of its duration, it is understandable that valid marriages can from now on take place only before the competent public authority\* which, being vested with the people's delegated power, is best fitted to give attention to the mission of the family.... A valid marriage can be contracted in no other way. Church wedding rites, including the publishing of banns, cannot be held until the spouses present an official certificate of marriage to the priest.

"It is absurd to claim—as has been again attempted by the reactionary upper clergy—that the introduction of registry marriages is in any way directed against the Church. True to their hostile attitude, the bishops

\* Sect. 1, Division 1, of the Act: Marriage is contracted by a concurrent Declaration made by the man and the woman before a Local National Committee that they are jointly entering into the bonds of matrimony.

If this Declaration is not made by the parties before a Local National Committee, no marriage shall arise.

are endeavouring to present the new family legislation to priests and the congregation as the end of family life, the forcible introduction of free love, and so forth. . . . There can be no doubt that the Vatican's fondest wish would be to make the family a bulwark of reaction. The Bishop of Ceske Budejovice, Dr. Hlouch, in directives for sermons issued on Nov. 13, 1949, has stated that 'today's economic and social conditions have undermined and broken up family life.' The Bishop goes on to say that at the present time in this country children are being 'expropriated' from their parents, and that present-day education in particular is a renewal, in a true and dreadful manner, of the slaughter of the innocents. The attitude of Bishop Hlouch is no accident or exaggeration. These were the Vatican's orders. . . .

"2. Another question, of no less interest to the public, is whether divorce will be easier or harder than it has been hitherto. It has been said here before, and I should like to stress it again, that the family carries a great permanent significance and mission in the Socialist order. The community will therefore permit the dissolution of marriages only in exceptional cases where for grave reasons a profound rift has arisen and the marriage is unable to fulfil its basic mission.

"In view of this principle, great emphasis will be placed on the necessity that both men and women should, at the very inception of married life, be sure that the premises for a permanent union exist on both sides. The community, which provides assurance of work, a decent livelihood, and a good standard of living, cannot then be indicted if the marriage turns out to be a failure. . . . This was different under the crises and unemployment of capitalist society, where marriages were uprooted by the contradictions of the class structure. . . .

"The present Family Rights Bill has been drafted in close cooperation with the Polish Ministry of Justice and is almost identical with the Polish Family Rights Act. Analogous conditions of life in the People's Democratic Poland and in our country have made possible a coordinated solution of the problems of marriage and the family. This is a significant act in the field of international cooperation. The chief foundation of our work here as in other fields was, of course, the experience of the great country of Socialism. The example of the Soviet family as expressed in the provisions of Soviet family legislation has been a great source of instruction in our legislative work.

"This new Bill is no mere formal affair. Up till now we have been celebrating one day in the year as Women's Day, which was to remind both women and men of the noble idea of family, wife and children. What we are now doing is to extend this holiday to cover the whole year, every day, every hour of the day, and our whole life. Let strongly beat the heart of our families, and that of our great common mother, of our People's Democratic Motherland!"

The sudden accessibility of divorce in Poland, where legal divorce had been severely restricted, led to some startling consequences. During the first years after the passing of the divorce bill, the courts were flooded with divorce petitions. *Panstwo i Prawo* (Warsaw), 1947, re-

ported that some 75 percent of all civil cases dealt with matrimonial affairs. In the district court of Lodz, out of a total of 3,167 civil cases, 2,286 divorce cases were heard.

In spite of easier divorce laws, the period in which Communist ideologists sanctioned free love and casual morals has come to an end. That policy was followed for two reasons: it was appropriate to the underground life led by Communists prior to their seizure of power, and it served the purpose of breaking down "bourgeois moral prejudice." The majority of decrees—strengthening of marriage and divorce laws, varying systems of State subsidy to families, and outlawing abortion—introduced in the captive countries from 1947 to 1953 seem to indicate that the Communists are at least formally concerned with the maintenance of the family as an institution. This is in line with reports that the anti-family policy has for some time been halted in Soviet Russia and a "reconsideration" of the family as a positive social force is under way.

### Comradely Love

The intrepid Communist planners have developed a formula for taking the gamble out of selecting a marriage partner. The concept of political compatibility is their unique solution to this eternal dilemma. An official Communist Party pamphlet proclaims: "When choosing a life mate, the Communist youth should look first for correct political thoughts, and afterward for education, temperament, health and good looks. True love is somber, intellectual, and definitely revolutionary."

It does not do to be too much in love, however somberly. In his work entitled *Communist Morals*, the Hungarian A. J. Zisz wrote: "Love makes one happy by lending a warm glow of contentment. . . . However, this must not be considered from the bourgeois point of view; i.e., love must not encompass one's whole life by satisfying every requirement and ambition."

In a memorandum issued by the Communist Party in East Germany, male Party members were advised that "it would unquestionably assist in the improvement of peaceful family relations if you could succeed in enrolling your wife in our Party. Those Party members who intend to get married in the near future are urged to connect their courtship with promoting our Party to those they have chosen."

Indicative of Party interest in these matters is the following account of a Party house-warden who escaped from Hungary. At a meeting of Party house-wardens held in June 1952, the warden of an apartment house on Imre Sallai Street rose to address his friends on the necessity of maintaining a strong house-warden system. A fireman living in his apartment house, he told the audience, wanted to marry a charwoman. But before the fireman could take out the marriage license, fire department officials asked the Party house-warden to furnish them with information about the charwoman's political reliability. Had she, for example, participated regularly in tenants' meetings and did she subscribe to the Party newspaper *Szabad Nep*?

The house-warden was unable to supply information that would put the charwoman in a favorable light. The marriage was called off. "How lucky we are," said the house-warden, "that, thanks to our organization, unhealthy nuclei may be kept under observation and that even the establishment of a politically undesirable marriage may be thwarted."

### Organized Women

The cooperation of women in the Iron Curtain countries with those of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Soviet bloc occupies a prominent place in Communist propaganda. Visiting tours, "international" congresses, and the exchange of correspondence between women's clubs are promoted and arranged. The press points to the Communist-front World Democratic Federation of Women, with a membership of 130 million women from 67 countries, as proof that the interests of woman-kind—peace, child welfare, etc.—are identical with the interests of world Communism. At every opportunity, the representatives of the national women's organizations remind members that women's emancipation is the consequence of the "historic victory of the Soviet Union."

In Hungary, the regime directs the organization of women through the MNDSZ (The Democratic Association of Hungarian Women.) This organization was founded in 1945, nominally as an independent women's organization, but actually under Communist Party control from its inception. There were other women's organizations founded by the various political parties, but only the MNDSZ survived the formation of the Hungarian Workers (Communist) Party. After the first Party Congress in Hungary in 1948, the organization officially became a branch organization of the Communist Party.

Until early in 1949 the MNDSZ was not active in industrial plants. In August 1949, the Party passed a resolution in the wake of which the organization of MNDSZ units in factories was started with full speed. All other women's organizations were dissolved. The organization sought to take in the "politically unconscious" masses. Soon a net of agitators, "people's educators" and other agents was spun across the whole country. In 1948 there were about 2,000 MNDSZ chapters active in Hungary. By the end of 1951, the number had risen to 5,634. At the end of 1949, the total membership was about 400,000; in December 1950, 647,000, and in May 1952 it reached one million. The purpose of this organization is to enlighten women as to the ideological aims of the Party, recruit them into industry, and conduct drives such as the "Help Korea" campaign and the Stockholm Peace Petition.

In similar fashion, during the first days of Communist rule in Poland, a women's organization was formed under the name of the Women's League. This organization now has over 2 million members. The Warsaw weekly *Przyjacielka* wrote in 1951: "The Women's League, enabling women to take part in the Peace Campaign, set for itself the task of mobilizing wide masses of women for the strug-

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gle for peace. It proved itself in the tens of thousands of women who collected signatures for the Stockholm Appeal. Signatures were collected by 368,412 women activists."

Prior to the Communist coup in 1944, Bulgarian women had their own national organization. After this date, the Communist Party, under the slogan "No action is possible without the participation of women," gradually took over this organization.

Women are officially enjoined to take part in government administration and to hold membership in the main body of the Communist Party. So far, this has apparently not proved widely successful. An Estonian journalist, now in exile, writes:

"Estonian women are virtually barred from the government of Soviet Estonia. Olga Lauristin, one of the most important Estonian Communist leaders, was appointed to the post of Minister of Cinema at the beginning of the second Russian occupation, but was purged some time ago. As far as is known, the wife of the Russian-Estonian rector of Tartu University, Klement, holds the highest post of any Estonian woman in the administration, being one of the deputies of the Minister of Sovkhozes (State farms).

"The women who participated in the regional Party conferences this year were mostly Russian. Each year there are complaints at the national Party conferences that the number of women in the Party is low and shows no increase. Newspapers seldom carry political articles written by women. If, at times, a woman speaks on the radio, she is either a factory worker or an agricultural worker who reads a text prepared by the Party."

The Bulgarian newspaper *Otechestven Front* (Sofia), September 5, 1952, reported that there are 1,941 women

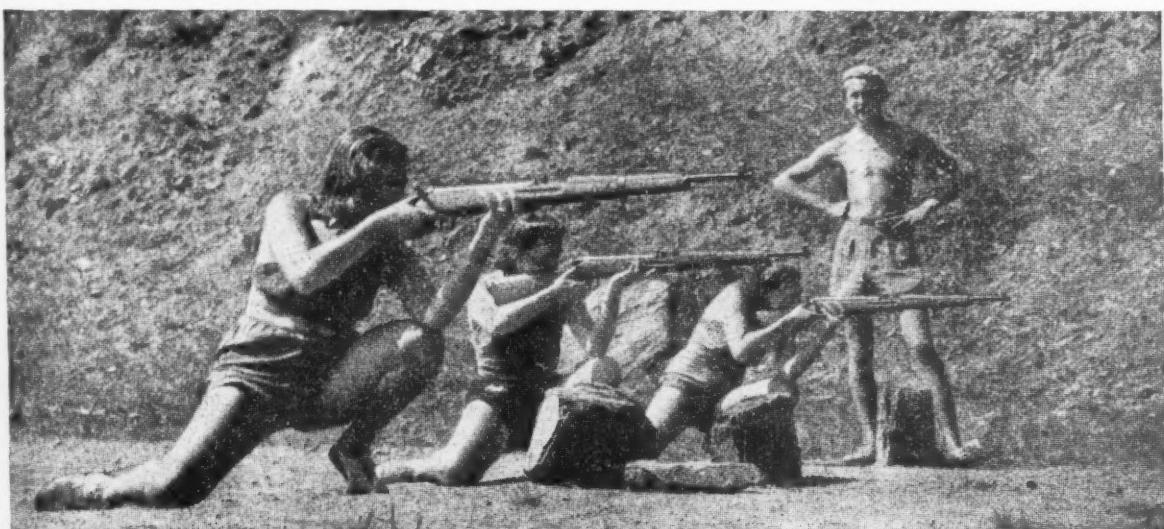
members of the Executive Committees of the People's Councils, one woman ambassador, one woman Minister, and five women deputy-ministers in Bulgaria. On January 24, 1953, the same newspaper announced that in the elections for People's Councils held on December 14, 1952, more than 8,000 women were elected deputies. But *Rabotnicheskoe Delo* (Sofia), December 21, 1952, wrote that "the majority of the Party organizations have underestimated the significance of women in our public life. As a result the number of women elected in the primary Party Bureaus is extremely inadequate . . ."

In Poland, there were 26 women deputies in the Seym (Parliament) "elected" on January 19, 1947. In the present Seym of October 26, 1952, there are 74 women deputies.

*Nowe Drogi* (Warsaw), September, 1952, wrote: "We have some 15,000 women in the national councils, 1,500 of which are either chairmen or executive committee members. Through their work in the national councils, women workers take a direct part in governing the State, deciding on important community matters. The national councils have become, to borrow Comrade Bierut's words, the 'hearth of working women's activity.' "

Nonetheless, there are not many women in the membership of the political parties: the Polish United Workers Party, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party (all Communist). In the press and on the radio there are repeated attacks denouncing the lack of interest shown by women in the activities of these parties.

In Czechoslovakia, Women's Committees, linked with the local national councils, have been established in most communities. *Zemědělské Noviny* (Prague), November 6, 1952, wrote:



*Náším úkolem je budovat, ale zároveň musíme střežit bezpečnost svého díla. Proto TOZ, jehož cílem je zvýšení brannosti mládeže, zařadil mezi své disciplíny i střelbu z pušky*

*Foto: ČSM—Přiborský—Prácha.*

Our task is to build, but at the same time we must guard the safety of our work. . . .

From *Kvety* (Prague), August 14, 1952

"Deputy Minister of the Interior Grisa Spurny reported on the activities of the Women's Committees, established in 80 percent of all communities in the Czech provinces. First ranking is Ostrava, with Women's Committees in 90 percent of all communities in the region. The establishment of Women's Committees, however, is not satisfactory as far as pace is concerned, although it represents a total of 75,000 women acquired by the local national councils."

### Military and Para-military

A large percentage of women are active in para-military organizations, which train men and women members alike in the basic principles of warfare and teach them how to handle a gun. In Hungary, the "Ready to Work and Fight" organization has 530,000 members, of which 50 percent are females. In Poland, all boys and girls at the age of 16 must register with the Service for Poland organization (other Polish para-military organizations are the Soldier's League, League of Soldiers Friends and the Polish Youth Association, all of which have women members). Girls conscripted into the Service for Poland undergo military and political training for a six-month period. About 480,000 girls served in this organization in 1952.

There is no question but that a certain percentage of women hold the ranks of officers and non-commissioned officers in the various armed forces of the captive countries, although there is little exact data on the subject. The clerical staff of military branch offices is usually made up of women who wear uniforms and are registered as soldiers. In Bulgaria, it is known that women are enrolled particularly in the Sanitary Corps, Civil Defense and the People's Militia.

## II. WOMEN AT WORK

"It is plain," wrote Engels in *Origin of the Family*, "that the first condition for the liberation of woman is to bring the whole female sex back into public industry, and that this in turn demands the abolition of the patriarchal family as the economic unit of society."

This view of the salvation of woman provides the ideological cover for a purely expedient campaign to recruit female workers into industry. These Satellite countries, which are committed to one of the most ambitious programs of industrial expansion ever known in Europe, suffer from a severe shortage of manpower. Women constitute a vast labor reserve. The problem is to make employment both necessary and attractive to them. The solution is approached in two ways: (1), on a practical level, through the development of a huge network of day nurseries and community kitchens which take the major housekeeping functions out of the individual woman's control and (2), on a psychological level, through appeals to women's vanity and patriotism, and threats of social and State disapproval.

The following broadcast over Radio Prague, January 13, 1953, illustrates the technique:

"How do we value the work of a housewife whose

life revolves around the stove? Is such work productive? Of course it is, because she produces, from meat, vegetables, and other raw materials which unprepared could not be eaten, one of the most important needs of man—cooked food.

"But it is quite another question of how great the housewife's productivity is if she cooks for only a few family members. She laboriously mixes dough and peels potatoes. Such work is slow and exhausting. If she is one of the happy few who own labor-saving devices, it is quite possible that her working time is cut in half. Thus her productivity increases by 100 percent, but she still needs time for shopping, etc. With the same effort a housewife could cook for 50, not for just five.

"But her productivity would soar if she spent the time wasted shopping in producing goods manufactured in our factories! The result would be not merely meals for a few family members, but hundreds of tins of canned meats, tens of metres of textiles, etc. for many families. She would receive a substantial wage and her family would be cared for by nursery, school or factory kitchens.

"But unfortunately there are some women who claim they do not have to work because their husbands earn enough as shock-workers to provide a comfortable living for the whole family. Such a point of view is selfish! We are all part and parcel of a great national collective and are building Socialism together. Everyone has to play his part. He who wants only to enjoy the fruits of our common effort and refuses to contribute is not a patriot! There are also cases where the wife wants to work, but where the husband refuses to let her. This is an obsolete bourgeois prejudice according to which man regards his wife not as his equal, but as his servant, whose main task is to care for the well being of the 'so-called family breadwinner.'"

Communist labor propaganda begins by asserting that in all capitalistic countries, women are subject to grievous exploitation in the working world. "A frantic search for work at *any wage*" eloquently characterizes woman's position in the U. S.," wrote *Nowe Drogi* (Warsaw), September, 1952:

"There were nearly 3 million unemployed women, according to U.S. statistics for 1951. 75 percent of pregnant women and 85 percent of the children in some states suffer from chronic anemia due to poverty and malnutrition. . . . Even when work is found, women's earnings are 15-30 percent lower than men's. Lower wages pertain not only to factory workers but to white collar workers. An office girl earns 18-20 percent less than a man doing the same work."

*Rinja* (Tirana), organ of the Albanian Central Youth Committee, claimed that in the U. S. the difference in wages earned by men and women with equal qualifications averages 32 percent, while in Austria it averages 25 percent, "except in the Soviet zone where the principle of equal pay for equal work prevails."

In September, 1952, *Nowe Drogi* declared: "The People's Poland, breaking away from all reactionary prejudice, has opened the door to new professions for women. . . . The old laws, which discriminated against women in em-

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ployment, have been revised and all artificial obstacles left from the capitalist regime have been removed."

Article 66 of the Polish Constitution, the substance of which is duplicated in the Constitutions of all the Cominform countries, defines the economic relations of the sexes:

"Equal rights for women are guaranteed by (a) equal rights with men to work and to receive pay according to the principle of equal pay for equal work, the right to rest and leisure, to social insurance, to education, to honors and decorations, and to the holding of public office, (b) mother and child care, protection of expectant mothers, paid holidays before and after confinement, development of maternity homes and kindergartens, extension of community kitchens and household services."

On February 8, 1953, the Budapest daily *Nepszava* published a new decree by the Hungarian Cabinet Council regarding mother and child care. The provisions set forth in the decree include the following:

"1. Pregnant women are entitled to a total of 12 weeks' leave, including leave before and after delivery. For women entitled to social insurance benefits, hospital expenses will be covered by the social insurance agencies. . . . Benefits to working mothers will be increased from 500 to 600 *forints* during pregnancy and to 700 *forints* after the birth of the first child.

"2. The illegitimate child whose maintenance cannot otherwise be assured may be taken into State care at the mother's request.

"3. By the end of 1953, day nursery accommodations must be doubled. Seasonal day nurseries for mothers employed in agriculture must be expanded. For the children of women employed on construction projects lasting more than a year, mobile day nurseries must be set up.

"4. Family allowances will be increased. For one child the head of the family receives no allowance; for two children he receives an extra 75 *forints*, the price of one shirt, in addition to his monthly salary. The extra allowance for three children has been raised from 135 to 180 *forints*, for four children from 210 to 260 *forints*, etc.

"5. Effective March 1, 1953, every newborn infant will receive a complete layette at the expense of the State.

"6. Effective March 1, 1953, taxes amounting to four percent of total income will be imposed on childless couples and unmarried men and women."

According to a Hungarian analyst, the only real innovations under this law are the granting of a layette to every newborn baby, and the tax on childless persons. Obviously, this tax is to subsidize the maternity benefits and family allowances.

Radio Warsaw, January 7, 1953, announced an act of the Polish Council of Ministers under which allowances for children will be considerably increased. The allowance for an average family with three children will amount to 240 *zloty* (\$60) monthly. Parents whose joint earnings do not exceed 900 *zloty* (\$235) per month will receive an additional allowance. Married couples with a lower income are entitled to a free layette.

These benefits are designed chiefly to protect the birth rate by making it possible for women to work and to have children too.

A "non-productive" woman, i.e. one who is not employed in any branch of the State economy, is not entitled to social and medical care, and has only minimum rights to food allocations, housing accommodations, etc. Thus, woman's "equal rights with men to work" means an equal obligation to work. The efficacy of this system seems borne out by the Polish regime's official statistics on the increase of women in employment. These figures show that in 1949 the number of employed women was 1,200,000; in 1951, the number had risen to 1,500,000; in 1952, the total was 1,748,000. However, *Glos Pracy*, August 7, 1952, and *Zycie Gospodarcze*, September 8, 1952, reported that in certain sectors of industry—particularly the foundry, machinery and building sectors—the number of women employees is on the decline.

The May 20, 1952, issue of the Budapest daily *Szabad Nep* published a resolution passed by the Hungarian Council of Ministers concerning the desired increase of the number of women employed in production:

"In every field of state administration at least 50 percent of newly-recruited labor must be composed of women. When recruiting workers in the field of transportation, commerce and public service, 80 percent of the new employees must be women. Courses training skilled craftsmen must admit 30-50 percent women students, while 50 percent of the students in courses for agricultural machine operators and truck drivers must be female. The number of women enrolling at the technical schools must be raised to 30-35 percent; at the Technical University and University of Agriculture to 20 percent, at the University of Economics to 30 percent. . . .

"The Council of Ministers rules that . . . in placing or transferring married people, care must be taken not to separate the married couples for a long time. . . .

"In order to facilitate the employment of an increasing number of women, the number and capacity of day nurseries must be raised. Every factory which employs more than 250 women must establish its own nursery, and if the capacity of existing nurseries is limited, only children whose parents are both working may be admitted."

According to A. T. A. (Tirana), June 12, 1952, the Albanian Five-Year Plan stipulates that 25 percent of all workers should be women. Since September 1950, 15,350 women had entered industry in Albania.

In Bulgaria, according to *Otechestven Front* (Sofia), September 5, 1952, 74,000 out of about 250,000 industrial workers are women. On the collective farms, 20,742 women have "leading positions."

*Rahva Haal* (Tallin), March 8, 1952, reported that 40 percent of the industrial and transport workers in Estonia are women and that 200 women have earned the title of Stakhanovite.

*Prace* (Prague), May 17, 1952, announced that 68,000 women were recruited into Czechoslovak industry during

1951. One-third of the total population employed were women. An appeal for the recruitment of 13,000 additional female workers was published in the same newspaper on November 1, 1952.

### "Something New In The Woods"

No work is considered unsuitable for women. In Poland, *Trybuna Ludu*, February 20, 1952, reported: "For the first time in the history of the Polish foundry industry, a woman, Jadwiga Niewolnik, employed in the Florian foundry, began to work at the open-hearth furnace. . . . Zofia Lechowska is the first forewoman in the Polish mining industry. . . ." The same paper had announced on March 3, 1951: "We now have thousands of women employed as motorists, conductors, machinists, tool makers, tractor drivers, carpenters, armament workers. Have they not, all of them, crossed that barrier which until now has barred them from 'men's professions'?"

In Romania, the first passenger train entirely run by a brigade of women arrived in Constanta from Bucharest on February 2, 1953. According to Radio Bucharest, February 4, "the brigade was received by a delegation of the Constanta Romanian Railways which saluted the members of the brigade in the name of all the women of Constanta."

In Hungary, according to a refugee report, six-week courses for training women as sailors were started last year on the premises of the Hungarian-Soviet Shipping Company. 160 women received theoretical and practical instruction, and are slated to replace those young sailors between the ages of 16 and 26 who are to be drafted into the Army, Police Force and river guard. Married sailors have been told to teach their wives how to do their work, so that they can substitute for them when the time comes.

In Czechoslovakia, women are chopping down trees. Radio Prague, February 20, 1953, praised the "new lumberjack":

"The felling of trees used to be considered work for men only. Lumberjacks, as we knew them, were hefty, powerful men with a saw, an axe on their shoulders, and a smoking pipe. But power saws have brought something new into our forests—the woman lumberjack. In one of the woods in Chuchelna, in the Hlucin district, every morning one can see six women chopping down trees. They have developed a new working method: one group fells the trees, another clears the trunk of branches, and a third removes the bark. The collective has mastered the art of tree felling so well that they fulfilled their Plan by 103 percent. They even take care of their own equipment and their power saws are in excellent condition."

Novel as this may be in Czechoslovakia, in Latvia it passes without press comment. Here, after the harvest has been brought in on Latvian kolkhozes, peasants are sent by government assignment to lumber camps. On November 4, 1952, *Cina* (Riga) published a decree by the Council of Ministers which stipulated that all able men in the age group 17-55 and women in the age group 18-45 are subject to assignment to lumber camps. Each brigade is required

to work approximately one month, or until the norms are met.

### Heavy Industry

An example of the strenuous manual labor done by women in the factories is contained in this excerpt from *Prace* (Prague), April 13, 1952:

"At the Kamo plant in Kolany, Comrades Cechova and Pokorna (women) are employed in the paraffin department. They have to carry heavy molds filled with paraffin; they also have to fill large bags weighing 100 lbs. and to move them frequently because of the lack of storage space. There are, however, male employees whose job is to pour vaseline into barrels with the help of machines, and whose main occupation is to walk around with paint, brush, and stencils, to mark the barrels. Although the work for the women is far more exhausting, they are earning less than their men-comrades with the paint brushes. When the women presented their justified complaint about the unequal distribution of work and compensation, Stakhanovite Zalabak declared, 'Isn't it enough that you are making 700 koruny a week? What more do you want?'"

A year later, it would seem that a sufficient number of "justified complaints" had been registered to justify a call for the easing of work requirements for women in factories. In its March 3, 1953, issue, *Prace* declared:

"The steadily increasing number of working women calls for a revision of certain production and distribution methods. Take, for example, the shops where women are now in the majority. These women suffer most under the old packing rules, which are, to say the least, outdated and unsuitable. Powdered sugar, for example, has been packed for decades in 200-lb. bags. This is the norm which apparently mustn't be changed. Similar rules apply to flour, which is delivered to the shops in bags of 150 lbs. In the Chemodroga shops, women must handle barrels of 400 lbs. This is of course no easy task for women; such loads are heavy even for men. . . . A special commission has been working for quite some time on new packing norms, but to date has come up only with new packing rules for aspirin and similar products. The factories are still making 200-lb. bags, 400-lb. barrels, and similar dainty containers."

On January 3, 1953, a decree was issued by the Presidium of the People's Republic of Bulgaria regulating women's work. Overtime, night work, heavy and hazardous work were specifically prohibited for pregnant women after the fifth month and for mothers with infants under eight months of age. In addition, "maximum norms" were established for women over 16 years of age for moving loads:

1. Hand carrying on level ground—44 lbs.
2. One-wheel handbarrow—110 lbs.
3. Wheelbarrow with 3-4 wheels—220 lbs.
4. Railroad carriage—1,320 lbs.

The decree prohibited employment of women in the following "hazardous" occupations: *Mining*: digging in

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pits (women can be used for digging sand and clay), loading, maintenance in shifts, digging with pneumatic machines, work with explosives in vertical pits. *Metallurgy*: cleaning gas pipes and filters, melting metal ores, melting, casting, rolling, etc., lead products, production and repair of lead batteries. *Chemical Industry*: production and packing of lead paint, annylin paint, benzol, TNT and mercury fulminate, arsenic and arsenate salts, carbide, mercury salts, nitrocellulose varnishes. *Printing Industry*: letter-casters, stereotypers and monotypers of casting apparatus; labor on deep copper print. *Meat Industry*: slaughtering. *Construction*: bell-diving.

Everywhere in the Communist press there are rumblings, fragmentary and discreetly muffled, but nonetheless indicating a deep and general distrust of the new working woman, and a reluctance on the part of men to serve up their wives to the industrial appetites of the State. In Hungary, *Nepszava* (Budapest), quoting Istvan Kossa, Minister of Metallurgy and Machine Industry, declared that "in the Voros Csillag tractor factory, the men forced the management to get rid of all the women employed in the foundries." In

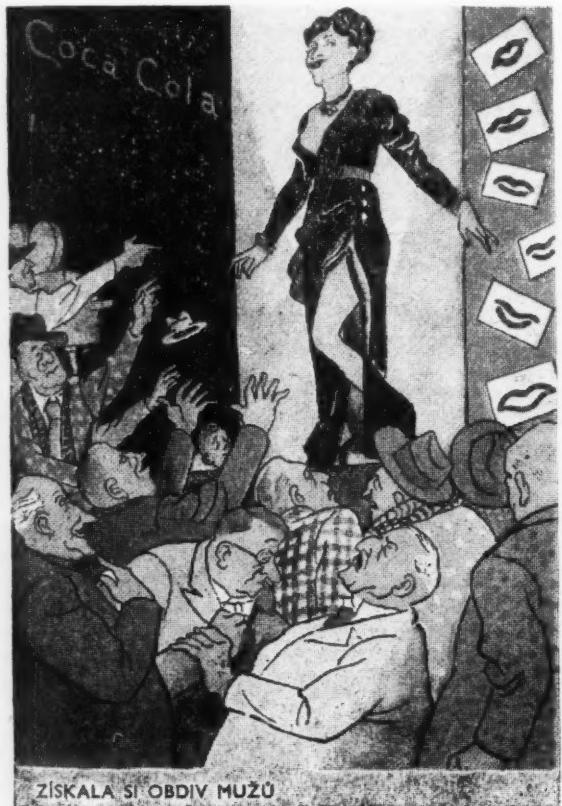
Poland, the Warsaw monthly *Nowe Drogi*, September 1952, wrote:

"The tempo of women's employment cannot be considered sufficiently rapid. The main reason is a persistent conservatism on the part of the hiring agencies of the State administration. Cases occur where factory managements are unwilling to employ women, either because they have no confidence in women's ability or because they want to avoid responsibilities connected with maternity protection. . . ."

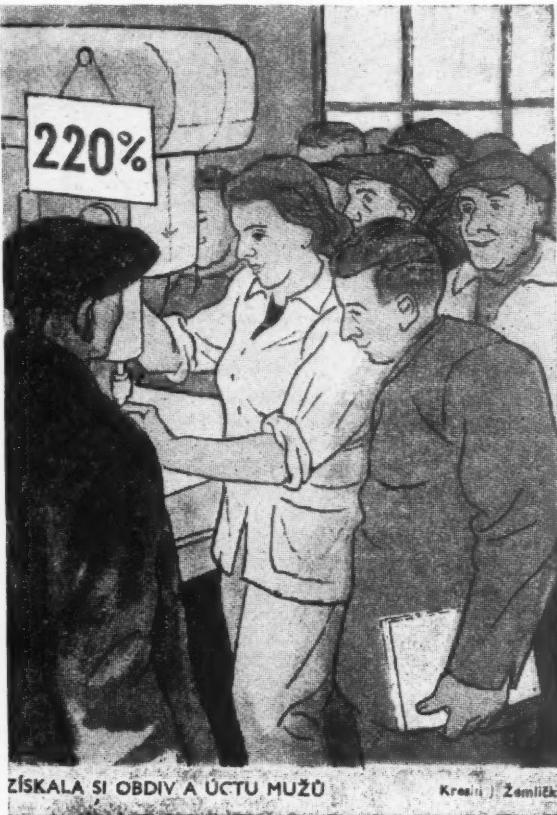
Similarly, *Zycie Gospodarcze* (Warsaw), Nr. 19/9/52, wrote:

"While looking through the reports from the industrial sectors' conferences, held in the province of Katowice, we discovered that the majority of managers declared themselves to be against the employment of women. This position was explained by the statement that 'it would be difficult to fulfill the Plan with women.'

"The worst evil of underestimating a woman's role in industry is the widely-accepted practice of depriving her of promotions and of opportunities to develop her professional qualifications. The rule that all nurseries



**She won men's admiration.**



**She won men's admiration and respect.**

From *Dikobraz* (Prague), March 8, 1953

and community centers should be provided primarily for working mothers has also been often disregarded. As the result of this neglect, the turnover in women's cadres exceeded 40% last year."

On the subject of promotions, *Nowe Drogie* wrote:

"The matter of women's promotion is strikingly inadequate in the industry in which women play a decisive role as a production force—namely, in the textile industry. In Lodz, which employs the highest percentage of women in Poland, where thousands of qualified women-leaders are occupied, the problem of women's promotion is ignored. In the cotton factory *Marchlewski*, there were three female foremen; now there are none. In the cotton factory *People's Army*, out of 100 foremen, there is not one woman in spite of the fact that several of them went through the required training. In the entire Lodz cotton industry there are scarcely five women who have administrative positions."

This attitude of "underrating women's capacity for work" was denounced at the Third Trade Union Congress in Romania as "a profoundly damaging attitude still held by some trade union activists and enterprise directors." *Scanteia* (Bucharest), February 5, 1953, cited an example:

"A telling example of mistrust in women is that of the management of the August 23 Enterprise, Bucharest, where out of more than 1,000 women employees, only a few have been sent to training schools. The Reunited Textile Works is another guilty enterprise, where only men are appointed as Stakhanovites although three times more women than men are employed." The Progressul Works in Braila, which turns out barges, iron pontoon-bridges and gasoline tanks, recently started to employ women workers, despite the heavy nature of the work: "Their output, however, was disappointing; moreover, their presence was apparently a hindrance to the efficiency of the male workers."

In Czechoslovakia, *Prace* (Prague) wrote on August 24, 1952:

"When a woman is elected to preside over a work council, the former chairman usually retires, rubbing his hands with glee, whenever he sees that the woman struggles and is overcome by obstacles. . . . It is no wonder then that this lack of cooperation, and in many instances deliberate obstruction, deter a woman from discharging her duty.

"But even a direct and whole-hearted cooperation is not enough. Something more than discarding prejudice against women in key positions is needed. We must keep in mind that women who have gone to work are still left with the responsibilities of their household and family. In what way could the burden be eased? By now there exist quite a few expedients. There are plant kitchens, nurseries, communal laundries, repair shops, and plant grocery shops. The thing that is needed is a better understanding on the part of husbands of the working women. Men must not prevent their wives from participating in public duties. On the contrary, they are duty-bound to alleviate the burden of household chores."

*Rude Pravo* (Prague), June 10, 1952, denounced possessive husbands:

"Many women point out that their husbands are opposed to their going to work. Men are afraid that they might come home and not find everything ready for them, no dinner prepared, no slippers laid out—even that they, the men, might be obliged to help in the house. But who would dare to suggest today that the vocation of women lies in spoiling their men? Nowadays, even when one salary is sufficient for the support of a family, we cannot return to the bourgeois attitude towards women. On the contrary, we must make it possible for women to demonstrate their capability in commerce, transport, industry, everywhere in the building of Socialism. There women find their greatest satisfaction. To sit at home all day long is no pleasure . . ."

### III. "THE ETERNAL FEMININE"

What does this "new woman" look like, and what does she wear? This can best be answered by describing the wardrobe of a typical Polish girl who, before her escape, had worked as a ward nurse at a salary of 507 zloty (\$127 at official exchange rates) per month.

This girl had three pairs of shoes, all of them several years old: a pair of ski boots, a pair of shabby suede shoes, and a pair of shoes with wooden soles which are standard for everyday wear in Poland. She had to save for three years to buy her only dress. The material, pink wool imported from Czechoslovakia, had cost 180 zloty (\$45) per meter when she bought it in 1951. The total cost of the dress was 570 zloty (\$142). Besides this dress, she had a beige skirt which she had made herself. The fabric had cost 280 zloty (\$70), and the seams showed the coarse thread she had to use. She wore this skirt every day to work, since the hospital did not provide her with a uniform. When necessary, she washed the skirt in the evening, and, getting up early in the morning, ironed it quickly before going to work. With the skirt she had five blouses and two sweaters to wear.

In addition to her one dress and one skirt, this girl had two pairs of slacks, a pair of dark blue "woolen" slacks bought in a cooperative store for 150 zloty (\$40) and a pair she had made of an old American army blanket. She needed a coat, but never had enough money to buy one, since prices start at approximately 300 zloty (\$75). Finally her parents bought her one—a short, tight little coat, very straight and fastened with a zipper.

According to this refugee, a dress in a cooperative (State-run) store costs a minimum of 180 zloty (\$45). A dress at this price has a wool content of about 15 percent but is called a wool dress "because anything which contains any wool at all in Poland today is 'woolen'." The highest content of wool in ready-made clothes is 60 percent; a dress of this quality costs approximately 400 zloty (\$100).

The standard costume for women in Poland is a skirt and blouse. For parties, a dark skirt and a white nylon

blouse are almost a uniform. An elaborate nylon blouse can cost up to 700 zloty (\$170).

Cosmetics are not as proportionally expensive as clothes, but are scarce and inferior. Polish face powder is made of rice meal, and, because of the lack of talc, is extremely coarse. Women no longer hesitate to go without face powder. There are lipsticks which cost only 15 zloty (\$3.50) but they are so poor that "they are used only by schoolgirls." Many women try to make their own lipstick by mixing vaseline with a crimson vegetable dye. Rouge is virtually unattainable. Mascara costs between 12 and 90 zloty (\$3-\$23), and eyebrow pencils about 35 zloty (\$9). These, too, are luxuries which women have learned to forego.

Since fatted soaps are extremely scarce, most women use laundry bar soap. Hands, coarsened from these hard soaps, and nails, broken because of the lack of milk and eggs, cannot be given the most elementary care. Manicure instruments have not been available in Poland for several years. Women try to care for their nails with razor blades, ordinary scissors and matches.

Short hair is the universal style. The minimum price for a comb is 20 zloty (\$5); a nylon brush costs 160 zloty (\$40). There are no prepared shampoos on the market. The beauty parlors, which have all been nationalized, are "overcrowded, understaffed, and inefficient." An ordinary permanent wave costs 30 zloty (\$7), while a shampoo and wave costs between 50 and 60 zloty (\$12-\$15). Women who are skillful with a curling iron can earn extra money by visiting their friends in the evening to do their hair, for which the average charge is 20 zloty (\$5).

Pre-war Western clothes are still seen in Bucharest, although the importation of fashion magazines from abroad is prohibited. Dressmakers have to rely on the women's weekly *Femeia Muncitoare* for models to copy. The Weiser fashion house, located on Gradina Icoanie Square, sells hand-drawn patterns at 7.5 lei (80 cents) apiece. Furs are flooding the market and may be bought at very low prices: a Persian lamb coat costs 4,000 lei (under \$400). Artificial silks, imported chiefly from Czechoslovakia, are sold in shops at 60 lei (\$7) a meter, and nylons on the black market cost 170 lei a pair (\$15)—a fortnight's wages for an average working woman. Most women wear dresses of standardized cotton made by a seamstress for about 100 lei (\$8-\$10). Real silk may be bought in the Romarta Store in Bucharest, which is patronized almost exclusively by Russians or Romanian Communist Party members. An ordinary citizen who tries to buy silk is certain to be suspected of trading in illegal currency.

### Is Glamour Obsolete?

What of the woman of leisure and wealth who is dedicated to the cult of glamour? Although not acknowledged in an egalitarian society, she is nonetheless indestructible, and persists in her demands for fine feathers. According to a report from Poland, an active "underground railway" exists in that country to supply the needs of the new aristocracy: the wives of high Communist Party dignitaries, gov-

ernment and Army officials, and foreign diplomats who represent, in Warsaw, the Communist regimes of the "People's Democracies."

*Eveline*, one of the most famous fashion houses in pre-war times, is now the only one remaining in Warsaw. Formerly located in Chmielna Street, it has moved to the more fashionable Sewerynow Street, No. 4. A dress at *Eveline* costs from 7,000 to 15,000 zloty (\$1,750-\$4,000). These dresses are imported from Paris, or from the Italian fashion houses, but most often are made by the few dressmakers who have managed to preserve their contacts with the shop.

The favorite furrier is a man from prewar Riga, Janis Eggert, a protege of the Soviet commercial attache in Poland. Eggert is a Soviet citizen and imports his furs from the Soviet Union. He also trades in second-hand furs, many of which are more in demand than the new furs, which are poorly made and cheaply tanned. Eggert has no store, but must be consulted by appointment in his huge suite of rooms located in Lowicka Street, No. 53.

There are no stores in Warsaw which sell quality accessories. In spite of this, ladies of the government elite do appear in handsome shoes, beautiful handbags, and first quality nylons. They wear the perfume and cosmetics which the average Polish woman cannot find. There is little doubt that all these products are imported from the West. How do they reach Poland? This is a subject of much speculation. It is likely that before the nationalization of small shops, these products were simply smuggled into the country. The main pipeline was believed to be through Vienna, with an auxiliary route through Barri (Italy), and Viore (Albania). Although the Vienna route was the shortest, it had to be abandoned after a time. The Soviet garrison of Poysdorf, on the Vienna-Brno-Wroclaw route, learned of this traffic and decided more often than

"Big collars are fashion news in Hungary, too."



From *Hungary Today*, London, 1949

not to confiscate the goods. An agreement was later reached between the Vienna shipping agency and the Warsaw receiving center on one hand, and the Poysdorf garrison on the other, but the latter adhered to the agreement only in regard to the smaller shipments, impounding larger supplies and demanding high ransoms for their return. The cessation of air travel between Warsaw and Paris (Polish Airways 'Lot') complicated the matter still more. One route was thus left: Barri-Viore. Polish ships and planes brought the smuggled goods into the country.

At present, Viore is merely a subsidiary route. The principal method is the classic: via diplomatic pouch, and the parcels sent from outside the country to foreign diplomats. To those who pack the goods the supervisor in Paris explains that they are being sent to a government-controlled diplomatic store in Warsaw.

Fashion is an urban preoccupation with which the majority of women in Eastern Europe have never been concerned. But in cities such as Budapest, Bucharest, Warsaw and Sofia, where women in prewar times prided themselves on their reputation for elegance, a pervasive drabness of dress has set in. There are many reasons. There are, primarily, the practical reasons. The overall shortage of consumer goods means that any variety in dress is impossible; factory designed clothes must be basic. Further, there is the lack of money and leisure for women whose days are already overcrowded with long working hours, sketchy housekeeping, committee meetings of all sorts. And there is the subtle background of Party doctrine: life is serious and concern with dress is frivolous, is a remnant of "bourgeois individualism," of the vanity of the idle and parasitic, for whom there is no reckoning in the Soviet conception of

woman, whose value is wholly utilitarian in the fast and furious drive to "build up Socialism."

This, then, is how the woman of Eastern Europe looks today:

Her hair is cropped, and dry and lifeless from strong soaps. The only make-up she wears is her homemade lipstick. A combination of shortages and high prices have forced upon her a uniform consisting of a simple skirt and blouse. She wears a wooden-soled shoe, but she usually has black-market nylon stockings, even if they are held with a rubber band from a jam jar.

"Do we feel unattractive? Of course we do," said one of the interviewed Polish girls. "There are many women who have given up, who cannot muster the energy to bother about their looks. But the majority of women prefer to go hungry—hungrier than usual—in order to buy a bright scarf for a few hundred *zloty*. And they sacrifice sleep in order to stay up at night remodelling old clothes, taking buttons from one old dress, and trimming from another, in order to be able to wear a 'new' blouse the next day."

In Satellite Europe, women's "emancipation" is now virtually complete: she is free to work in the factory instead of in her home; free to let the State take care of her children; free to dress shabbily in the hopes that her political principles will clothe her in beauty; free to marry a man who has no obligation to support her; free, should the Party allow her a divorce, to pay alimony; free to treat any of her marriages impersonally, of "basic concern" only to the "Socialist society" in which she exists—free, in short, to spend her days in lifelong devotion, not to any human love, but to the greater glory of Communism.

# Taming of the Muse

IN Satellite Europe, the art form which Wordsworth once described as "the breadth and finer spirit of all knowledge" has been reduced to a compulsive propaganda medium. Like radio, film, the press and school, poetry is an important aspect of the Soviet Union's ideological indoctrination program for the captive countries. Consequently, the poet's assigned task is to educate his fellow citizens in the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism, to inspire them to work harder, to portray Socialist society and culture as superior to any other, to preach hatred of the West, and to glorify the role of the Communist Party in building "the new Socialist society." This warped concept of poetry's function is Party-defined in the most concrete terms. As *Nowa Kultura* (Warsaw) August 31, 1952 wrote:

"All our statements, all articles, poems, reporting, stories, radio scripts, satires, etc., which are to be written in the future must be subordinated to the political function, which derives its logic from the present international and domestic situation. That is why a militant spirit, lack of hesitation, a sharp purposefulness and an intrepidity must be the main features of our works . . ."

This "Party poetry" which the captive poet must create, drawing upon Marxist-Leninist doctrine for his inspiration, is rationalized as "People's poetry," dedicated to the "new Socialist man." The poet, in his specialized art, is required to work just as actively as any factory worker or peasant toward "the building of socialism." Critic Kazimierz Wyka, writing in *Nowa Kultura*, September 7, 1952 sets forth the orthodox Communist reasons why the poet, far from resenting this obligation, should consider it a great privilege:

"What [he asks] did People's Poland give to the writer and the artist? I'll be brief, limiting myself only to the most important things: she called him from beyond the social pale, from solitude; she tore him away from service to the wealthy classes; she freed him from the humiliating position which had been imposed upon him by capitalism. His past position resulted in the degeneration of his artistic creativeness; it made his work useless, and liberated only a small part of his energy, and not the best part at that. And what did People's Poland demand—and rightly—from a writer? She demanded his conscious participation in the whole nation's life, its work and construction of the Socialist future; she demanded from him a most noble service—service which allows him to express his true self; his full energy and his artistic soul. In return she gave him a reader and a consumer, in such numbers that he could not have even dreamed of in bourgeois Poland . . ."

## I. THE MUSE ON ITS KNEES

Officially, the Communist world has absolutely no uncertainty about the role of the artist. This controversy—which for centuries has stimulated heated argument in all countries of the civilized world and given birth to such diverse schools of poetry as lyricism, imagism, symbolism and futurism—has been definitively settled behind the Iron Curtain. The Communist poet is required to enter into and forever after remain in the services of the state; to derive his inspiration solely from state-approved sources; to express himself in full compliance with regime directives.

It is both interesting and revealing to observe the ways which captive poets make their verses participate "in the nation's whole life"; how their creative wellsprings have reacted to external regulation; what species of literature this control has inspired; what means of striking back—either actively or passively—are open to the poet himself; by what strategems he can ignore, or circumvent, or reinterpret the directives which come down to him from the Ministry of Art.

Each individual poet must, of course, solve or fail to solve this root problem in his own way. Some have simply stopped writing (in itself a sin of non-participation, of putting personal feeling before Party consideration); a few, very few, are so popular that the Communists consider it unwise to exclude them entirely from the national literature; a handful have gone "underground" and actually write verses overtly critical of the regime. But the vast majority either try earnestly (and with varying degrees of success) to please their political masters, or attempt to make a personal and officially acceptable compromise between their art and the directives issued to govern it. This last group, the compromisers, is worth further analysis. Their solutions—diverse and often ingenious—provide us with fragments of real insight into the problems of the captive poet.

Roughly, the compromisers fall into three main groups: (1) those who restrict themselves to subject matter as yet untouched by directives: non-political or a-political themes which are still condoned; (2) those who stick to directive-inspired subjects, but write about them in a way which, while vaguely Party-line, is least offensive to their personal artistic integrity; and (3) those who versify upon exactly those subjects which are most enthusiastically encouraged by the regime, but who do so in a highly sensuous style imitative, by its very individualism, to the spirit of the directives. There is the suspicion of a fourth group which writes intentionally bad verse, so bloated in its flattery of the regime that the impression it manages to give is thinly-veiled burlesque.

### The Middle Road

The older poets, because of their prewar backgrounds and exposure to anti-Communist traditions, provide us with the best examples of successful compromise. An exile Polish critic cites his captive compatriot, J. Iwaszkiewicz, for example, as a poet who has done an excellent job of "fooling the Party critics."

Ryszard Matuszewski, one of the critics apparently fooled, wrote in *Nowa Kultura* (Warsaw), September 7, 1952 that Iwaszkiewicz had at last reached the proper ideological balance:

"A new volume of J. Iwaszkiewicz's poetry was recently published under the title of *Poems from Various Epochs*. This is his second volume since the war. . . . This collection broadens by some 18 years the perspective through which we can appraise Iwaszkiewicz's poetry. . . . What becomes most apparent in his work . . . is, first of all, a great variety of theme. When we

read all these collected poems, we fully realize and appreciate [his] ambitions, his stubborn and creative effort in achieving his present ideological position and transforming his enormous poetic imagination. . . . Comparing his gay playing on words in 'Oktostyky' with his present seriousness, we can fully appreciate the sense of moving confession in his poem, 'A Letter to President Bierut':

For when you, my President, knew so well  
Which path to take and how to lead us  
I believed too well in old-fashioned truths,  
Feeding my tired eyes on the landscape's beauty  
And rainbow's color; and failed to see  
A simple man burdened with dark slavery.  
I know now, now I understand much  
And try to forget that which was,  
And do not turn to it; but I regret a little  
The sunset's hue and roses and the marble.  
And—you see—it is hard for me,  
I am no longer young and one must march so quickly.  
I thought that I had achieved a little,  
But now I must learn from the beginning.  
You know I did not praise the great for praise's sake  
Nor write this letter to you because  
You stand in light, so sharp, as on a pedestal,  
All sing of you and praise you well,  
But because I am lost sometimes and tired  
And because I think of you then. . . ."

The reviewer continues:

"There is a strange difference between the poet who was so charmed by a dark night and to whom the whole world appeared—as Janina Preger aptly described it—as 'a freshly blooming body with a skeleton hidden in it,' (purely biological in dimensions) and the other poet who wants 'to learn how to speak, see and walk and find himself at last among the people.'

"Some of his [Iwaszkiewicz's] poems are well known as placards, slogans in the struggle for peace. They played an important role in the poetic frontline of our times."

According to the critic mentioned above, Iwaszkiewicz's poem, in spite of its verbally unpleasant tone, is *sui generis* a masterpiece of cultured hypocrisy and resignation.

Confronted with the necessity of "marching quickly," many poets have had to make use of this unpleasant poetic form, the panegyric. In the Soviet Union, this doubtful art form has by now reached its climax and become inhumanly ugly. In Poland, the process has only begun, and it can be safely said that it will never reach such depth simply because of Polish nature and temperament.

The position of Jerzy Zagorski is similar to that of Iwaszkiewicz's though not so secure. In a review entitled "The Difficult Road of the Poet," *Nowa Kultura* (Warsaw), May 25, 1952, Seweryn Pollak writes:

"Harmony of tradition, adopted by Zagorski in a rather fragmentary manner and not based on the wider, more progressive conception of social life, has confronted him with other dangers: his escape into broken,

confused dreams has had substituted for it an escape into esthetics. . . . This apparently becomes his poetic program. He finds in art a second motherland; but this art is sad—the last shelter of the living:

'Before this world is drowned, white sails will sound in wind. And so for the price of its death, which happens every day, fables, scenarios and songs are created. . . .'

"Having discovered people and their creative force, Zagorski failed, however, to free himself from a rather indefinite, idealistic tendency to philosophize on the subject of the so-called 'absolute concept'. . . . This tendency without concrete application to . . . any rational philosophy, is still present in Zagorski's work and hinders his progress. He obviously wants to go forward, to develop, as may be seen from a poem to Mao-Tse:

We are bound by similar hopes:  
The tallest song and hard work,  
And struggle which as the flag blows  
Upon us and the Dragon's land. . . .

"Such interpretation of our period of history, being taken in stride by People's Poland and People's China together, proves that Zagorski is trying to discover the real essence of social transformation. . . ."

Mieczyslaw Jastrun, one of the major poets now being published in Poland, belongs to this same group who, in spite of their prewar work, have managed to find a place in the Communist reality. They are often strongly criticized for their 'intellectual deviations,' but their position is fairly secure because of their culture and talent. Leszek Herdegen, a critic writing in *Nowa Kultura* (Warsaw), April 13, 1952, credits Jastrun with having achieved successful metamorphosis:

"The degree of a poet's 'participation in social life' increases with the years. The process which led him to an understanding that people can mold time and are capable of changing the world has not been, let us say again, an easy one. The time, the world and international relations were for him a severe oppressor, and fighting them hopeless. . . . Further stages of Jastrun's work were not . . . merely a triumphal march forward. . . .

"And today? Do we find in his poems—apart from his still persistent tendency to philosophy and certain unchangeable features of his style—an old Jastrun? . . . In his 'Letter to Friends' we come across fragments which must provoke discussion:

"Yes—the revolution  
Is constantly before us, hastening our hearts  
Placing in our hands the Time  
A flag that others will take over. . . .  
Yes, it's true—we've been outgrown by Time.  
Not we but they have lifted it to stars,  
These great conquerors of climates and of rivers,  
These sculptors of history.  
They changed the taste of fruit, and work, and love—  
In fervent mills of thought they ground us like seeds.  
And secrets of matter they discovered—  
They—more powerful than Dante and Byron.

"The poet is right when he appreciates and emphasizes the leading role of the working class in the construction of a new life, when he learns from its knowledge and experiences. But his poem expresses, at the same time, his exaggerated passivity to revolutionary changes which take place, and gives one the impression that the author is rather helpless himself. Today we recognize an equal division of rights and functions for all creators—let them be the builders of an industrial plant or the poets. . . ."

#### The Delicate "Progressive" Theme

Those poets who turn to the "progressive" past for theme are never fully acceptable to the regime because they refer not to the present but to the period of which they write. Hungary's Gyula Illyes, famous for his anti-Nazi poems, is such a writer. At the 1950 Writers' Congress in Budapest, Cultural Minister Revai made special mention of him: "We would like to see our excellent poet, Gyula Illyes, turn to the present at last, and put his great talent at the service of Socialist building."

Two years later, on the occasion of Illyes' 50th birthday, he was awarded an order of merit but *Irodalmi Ujsag* (Budapest), October 23, 1952 admitted that he still was not a Communist poet: "The Gyula Illyes who suffers with the oppressed people and struggles for the oppressed people already has written his name on the most beautiful pages of our poetry. This poet must and will be supplemented by the voice of the Socialist poet who rejoices with the liberated people and is ready to fight for and to build freedom. . . ." Yet Illyes continues to be published. In the November, 1952 issue of the magazine *Csillag*, Illyes was writing of a "love that will never cease," surrounded by Communist poets screaming hatred.

Hungary's cultural minister, Jozsef Revai, summed up the correct ideological attitude toward the past in a speech published in *Tarsadalmi Szemle* (Budapest), summer, 1950:

" . . . Let us learn from the example of Soviet literature, in the course of whose development the Bolshevik Party constantly fought against the depreciation of classical tradition. . . . When Soviet authors and artists come to see us, they never fail to advise and remind us that we . . . should not neglect the classical tradition of our literature. They consider it a matter of course that the foundation of Hungarian Socialist culture, which is bound up with learning from Soviet culture, implies the critical study of our own progressive cultural tradition. . . . Let us admit: our classics described their world better than our new authors describe ours. Our young Socialist authors will certainly make progress, but to make progress they must learn from life, from the Party, from Soviet literature, and last but not least, from the great Hungarian authors of the past. One cannot give a picture of the present without knowledge of the past. The new Socialist man is formed by defeating the old. . . . Our fight for Socialist humanism . . . is strengthened and extended by the recognition that we are not alone in hating the old inhuman world also hated by the great critical realists. . . . The appreciation and serious

study of the legacy of classic realism do not, of course, imply that we renounce the right to make statements on the deficiencies and class-restrictions of our great realistic authors or that we refrain from criticizing them. . . ."

Critic Andrzej Braun wrote in *Nowa Kultura* (Warsaw), August 31, 1952 of the "return to the past."

" . . . Sometime ago, a former Polish poet, Czeslaw Milosz, suggested that we should break from a 'romantic attitude,' from the author's personal attachment to a subject, from speaking directly from oneself. He suggested that we begin to search for distance, cross a traditional circle of forms; he proposed we dress ourselves in the costumes of other persons; he proposed a poetic mystification [Braun here refers to Milosz's interest in T. S. Eliot's poetry, long ago denounced by the Communists]. He searched for that distance. He was revolted by reality. He refused to speak about it in a manner demanded from him by the public. In his search, he travelled—backwards like a crab—the whole globe; and in his contemplation on the subject of cultures, he again reappeared in the field of our vision—but on the other side. We do not want to reject the most noble traditions of our great romantics. Our slogan is: nearer to life; to enter into it with our whole heart, all our nerves, to live by it. And we should not spare ourselves or be 'yellow'. Nazim Hikmet wrote:

If I will not burn,  
If you will not burn,  
If he will not burn,  
Who will enlighten the darkness?"

The attitude of the elder poets toward the West has been another matter of concern to the regime. Such poets as Julian Tuwim and Antoni Slonimski, for instance, who spent several war years in the West, adopt a more reserved and diplomatic attitude towards the Western world and culture. Their works are a mixture of personal tones and allusions, an echo of their stay abroad. They also try to find regime approval but the tone of their anti-Westernism is subdued. It is difficult for men of their age to completely erase the beauty and charm of their earlier desires and to see evil and ugliness which had not been there before.

Younger poets do not have these limitations and therefore have greater freedom in the arena of hatred. But their perception of the West is, on the other hand, naive, childish and highly distorted. They try to dress empty propaganda slogans in quasi-profound formulations of humanism, love of mankind, etc. Henryk Gaworski's poem, quoted here from his volume of verse entitled "Life Is Before Us," is such a mixture of "observations" seen through the Party-made glasses:

It is more difficult  
To set the world on fire  
Than to light a cigar—  
You won't set the world on fire.  
One billion of people  
Together  
For Peace and with the Party.  
Who'll break this will  
Of theirs?

### Youth and Age

The younger generation of poets also has its difficulties in conforming to Party directives. Because they have the dubious advantage of being provided, at the very threshold of their literary life, with ready-made prescriptions for creation, their "sin" usually expresses itself in the interpretations of problems rather than in the conscious will to sabotage them. Unlike their elders, they are given credit for loyalty and good will. They have swallowed "the great issue and essence of the Communist philosophy" and their only problem, from the regime's point of view, is to perfect style and form. This "we-can-trust-our-young-poets" policy isolates them from opportunities of artistic discovery and makes them docile by fully approving them. A typical product of this climate is Andrzej Mandalian. The background from which he grew and the various characteristics he acquired as the result of this background make him a genuine poet-Communist. Grzegorz Lasota, writing in *Nowa Kultura* (Warsaw) May 11, 1952, said of Mandalian:

" . . . A passionate tone of class hatred and revolutionary romanticism . . . can be found in Mandalian's 'Today'. . . . It reminded us of the beautiful and severe aspects of our everyday struggle. Ideological passion, a firm agitating tone, Socialist romanticism—echoes of great Soviet poetry—all are in his poems."

Another representative of this new generation is Tadeusz Borowski, a poet and essayist who recently committed suicide. Borowski received high recognition after his death and his works were presented to younger writers as examples of "real Socialist creativeness." A rather complex personality, he fitted perfectly into the initial stage of cultural development in Poland. His perception of life and the world is a clear example of the confusion and unrest of the first several years of postwar Polish literature. Borowski's *Readings for Americans* is a collection of confused humanism and a distorted search for justice:

You say that poetry is not politics,  
Unmoved by a hungry child  
Or by the dark graves of soldiers.  
You do not look into the plates of poor  
Or into the capitalist's wallet.  
You granted the literary prize of America  
To a Fascist and a traitor, hiding him  
From the people in an asylum.  
The banker puts his feet on the table.  
The manager puts his feet on the table.  
The millionaire puts his feet on the table.  
The child who daily cleans that table  
May also put his feet on the table one day.  
The policeman takes the child across the street.  
In 1946 he threw wheat into the sea.  
In 1947 he poisoned potatoes with kerosene.  
In 1948 he dragged the leader of a strike by the feet.  
In 1949 he shot the Communist in the back.  
The child will be a Communist one day.  
They gave six billion dollars to Chinese Fascists  
In order to enslave the nation.

The nation has freedom instead  
And the six billion dollars.  
They now give billions  
To the English and French Fascists.  
The scientist haunts the world with an atom bomb.  
The Exchange still sells shares.  
Workers still must sell their labor.  
Steel-safes are still there.  
But the Yenisey and the Ob now flow southward.  
You say that men are wolves to one another  
And you are wolves to us.  
You forget that in Siberian forests  
They know how to hunt wolves.  
Even the girls know—  
The young Komsomols.

### Eliotic Imitation

Due to the fact that they have no tradition of Socialist realism or any other Soviet-style "isms," the new poets quite naturally refer to past models in their search for form and style. Tadeusz Rozewicz, one of the most talented younger poets, is often attacked for his imitation of T. S. Eliot, "the bard of rotting Western culture." Reviewer Andrzej Braun admonishes Rozewicz for his Eliotic orientation, but in the most refined manner. Himself a poet, Braun is a mixture of the highly sensitive intellectual and the almost childish critic, a combination rather prevalent in Polish critical circles. One gets the impression that poets and critics alike are well aware of their inability to speak openly. Having to condemn one another for eccentricities, they seem to find a pleasure in discovering that these eccentricities exist.

*Nowa Kultura* (Warsaw) April 22, 1951 published Braun's criticism of Rozewicz:

"The world and even the inner emotions of people are presented by Rozewicz from the outside, by means of gestures, movements and sounds. Naturalism, photography, behaviorism? Not only that, let us consider his 'Visit':

'Don't look at me so'—  
She said  
With my rough hand I stroke  
Her short hair  
"They cut my hair"—she said—  
"Look what they did to me."  
'Why does she look at me this way?' I think—  
Ah, I must go now  
I speak a little too loud.'

"We have here this characteristic pen-naming of emotions. Instead of the essence, a mere gesture, a substitute. The concept that psychological essence is too complex to be expressed directly is deeply rooted in symbolist poetry. Here we have the poetry of allusions, a firm technique, observation of external impulses of man, and the use of naturalist fragments of dialogue. No doubt this technique has its positive aspects:

'And now the street is dark  
I hear the voices of girls  
I'll not touch their hair  
Or hands. Their fingers are unknown.  
I must learn from them whether  
They like apples or pears  
I must learn from them that  
Which they know and do not know.' "

Włodzimierz Maciąg, writing in *Nowa Kultura* (Warsaw), March 16, 1952, accuses another young poet, J. M. Gisges, of what is called "formalism":

"Formalist means of expression, traces of which we still find in his poetry, are slowly being replaced by a more precise conception of man, although even these are rather conventional. . . . An interesting example of this struggle against formalism may be found in a poem entitled 'Contemplation of the Railway Guard':

'When searching for essence, as for the scent of evening,  
Within grey houses or a worker's hand—  
Or when walking in the street, where a building's  
splendor  
Grows like a tree—I hear the song of tired  
People; I balance it on the wires;  
Think then what man must mean to me. . . .'

### You Who Are Not Here

The few "underground" poems that have reached the West are striking contrasts, although their small number makes an estimate of their artistic value impossible. They overtly express what the compromise poets have been able only to imply. Below are two examples:

Now you are readying up your turning-lathe,  
And still reach out for your wife in sleep,  
And you are getting ready to take a walk  
Through the spruces behind the town.

For two hours now I have stood barefoot  
Among many,  
And support a man who fainted.  
The guards take roll call.

I crouch in the shadows of a wall of boards  
And lick the last grey drop from the spoon  
And tie the rags tighter  
About the running blood  
(For they yesterday questioned me).

I lie on my wooden bunk,  
And sleep is distant.  
My body burns  
And I think of you  
And of you  
And of you  
And of all of you who are not here.

Or another:

The factory devours its workers.  
Strong men and feeble women,  
It emits the refuse and the worthless  
And fills the cemetery at Ozd.

## II. THIS PARTY POETRY

Andrzej Braun, writing in *Nowa Kultura* (Warsaw), August 31, 1952, describes the kind of poetry written by true Communist poets, those who are at the opposite extreme of the "compromisers":

"Is our poetry devoid of the accents of fervor, the most active participation in this fight which constitutes the essence of our life? No, it is not. There are poems which we read with the deepest emotion. The poetic pose falls off and the poet speaks from the bottom of his heart:

They are the makers of the nations'  
Tortures. I'll stigmatize them by name.  
I'll hand them over to the justice of time—  
Emblems of criminals, so poisonous,  
Soaked in blood of innocent children and infants.  
Here is brigadenfuehrer SS—Hans Leorner,  
Here is standartenfuehrer SS—Hans Hochberg.  
They now serve the Americans faithfully.  
Against the good of the people any company is good.  
Mieczyslaw Jastrun

What is heaven or hell to us,  
We'll not be softened by pity.  
We know: there is no pity  
For those who murdered  
And for those who supported murders  
And for those who gave them arms."

Wiktor Woroszylski

Here are other examples which clearly show the extremes to which these poets have gone in their eagerness to follow party directives:

"Literary work must become an organic part of systematic Party work. . . . Follow the Party line in [your] literary work and put [such work] at the service of Party work and the struggle waged by the Party. . . ."

Jozsef Revai in *Tarsadalmi Szemle* (Budapest), March, 1950.

"Follow the Party line, poet,  
And despise him who does not:  
The hairy beast of egoism  
Crouches in his hollow heart."

Zoltan Zelk

"Every political event [should find] an echo in the hearts of poets."

*Viata Romaneasca* (Bucharest), No. 12, 1952

"Speak clear, with a clear voice  
Vote for life!  
With that which brings peace and richness and sun:  
With the Popular Democratic Front  
Vote! . . ."

Eugen Jebeleanu

"Our literature, born of the new reality and consecrated by our Constitution to the construction of Socialism . . . has the great duty of mirroring truthfully and with emotion our incomparably rich life. . . ."

*Viata Romaneasca* (Bucharest), No. 12, 1952

"Today your country is your house,  
Industrious people of workers:  
Today you are no longer any master's servant,  
And nobody can kick you.

When you were suffering under the whip,  
Your tenderness for your country was great,  
But you have been able to lift your head,  
Today and forever you command.

You who were strong enough to liberate it:  
Love it with ever increasing ardor;  
To see boys and girls grow  
Ardent in need and in leisure."

A. Toma

"Our worker-poets . . . [should] gather typical features of our life in all its colorful amplitude. . . ."

*Rude Pravo* (Prague), October 14, 1951

Goodbye my office desk  
Remember me to the dust covered papers  
Now I have another sweetheart  
A faithful, devoted and vivacious one.  
I admire it like a lover  
I touch and embrace it  
However I address it with my song  
Its only answer is its buzzing.  
But we have full understanding even so.  
My wife at home may sometimes be annoyed  
Although we both are full aware  
Of the new love so different and so rare."

*Lidove Noviny* (Prague), August 2, 1951

"A poet cannot live in this time from a distance; he has to be in the field. He has to be like a chemist, transforming chemicals into colors, fragrances and pictures. He must burn like a furnace and incite the people."

*Rovnost* (Brno), September 2, 1951

Father is very much concerned  
To have no substitute and heir.  
He and mother have decided  
That I should marry soon.  
But I have learned much better things  
Than to go to dances in the night  
I sit on my tractor  
And plough the whole field bright."

*Zemedelske Noviny* (Prague), September 5, 1951

"Today poetry [for children] must transmit great ideas and sentiments in the Communist educational spirit."

*Viata Romaneasca* (Bucharest), No. 12, 1952

"Cruel eyes of kings are watching  
To loot again  
Our land, our peace and your sleep  
With thousands of grenades  
They want us again in chains  
Again behind bars."

M. Tautu

"A good writer is also a magnificent 'frontline soldier' at the head of the class struggle. . . ."

*Nowa Kultura* (Warsaw), August 31, 1952

"Our enemies are many  
And so cunning  
And so impudent  
But they will not  
Again throw us  
Into slavery's darkness  
Your pencil  
Better than a rifle,  
And more painfully  
Bites  
And kills deadlier  
Than a bayonet."

Vladimir Majakowski

*"It is expected of a writer that his creation be pervaded and inspired by the spirit of the fight waged for . . . a new society and for socialism. . . ."*

Jozsef Revai in *Tarsadalmi Szemle* (Budapest),  
Summer, 1950

"Do not write poetry  
To rattle empty words.  
You must want the success of our Plan,  
The expansion of heavy industry."

Gyorgy Somlyo

" . . . [Writers] may deal with the enemy . . . but naturally without making him a central hero and enlarging him . . . into a tragic hero. . . ."

Jozsef Revai in *Tarsadalmi Szemle* (Budapest),  
Summer, 1950

Woe to you in the distance, you stinking nest of plague,  
You scum of the earth, home of atom bombs, and haunt  
of criminals!  
Roar as long as you can, you dragon with seven heads,  
Your foundations are rocking,  
We will split open all your seven heads!

Eva Sebok

"[Avoid] formalism, that reactionary idealist literary trend which denies the significance of ideas in art and attributes significance to form alone."

*Irodalmi Ujsag* (Budapest), October 23, 1952

My heart is pure, my words are pure:  
With new words in the old attire  
How could I be a formalist?

Oszkar Gellert

Just as the "discovery" of "subversion" in the Economic Ministry is used to explain the regime's economic failures, so poetic sins explain the failures of "political" poetry.

The regime criticism and poetic self-criticism below point to a serious weakness in the Communist system: that poetic criticism is always concerned with symptoms (ideological shortcomings, artistic failings, Western cultural influences) and never with the system itself. The poet is criticized for his failure to incorporate Marxist doctrine in his poetry; the doctrine itself is never questioned. No amount of criticism will solve the basic problems. Regime and poet alike will continue to move in circles in their futile and destructive attempts to impose impersonally dictated political content on the most highly distilled form of inherently subjective expression in literature: poetry.

The political-ideological failure of poetry and poets is a basic symptom of the disease of Communism. The sins of "cosmopolitanism," "bourgeois nationalism," and "escapism," to name but a few, are political sins. "Formalism," "schematism," "intimism," and "mysticism" are so-called artistic sins. But no clear cut division can be drawn between political and artistic sins: the basic sin is refusal to bow to Party dictatorship.

The tone of V. Sosura's "confession" is illustrative. His poem, "I Love the Ukraine" was criticized by *Lidove Noviny* (Prague), July 27, 1951, as being "purely nationalistic":

"Only one country exists like this one  
In the entire world. It sings in the poems,  
In the willow branches, in the light of stars;  
It speeds the pulse of our hearts.  
You cannot love other countries  
If you do not love the Ukraine."

The following are excerpts from Sosura's confession:

"Dear Comrades, I consider the criticism of my poem, 'I Love The Ukraine,' as completely correct. . . . I have become convinced that thanks only to the leadership of the Party and of the beloved leader of our nations, Comrade Stalin, has the Ukraine become what she is now. The fact that such an erroneous poem could appear among my works is proof that I have to strengthen my relations to the working class. . . . This criticism is a bitter but deserved experience. It will help me to avoid ever again committing such mistakes which can serve the nationalists who never loved [the Soviet] nation and our people. I shall in the future devote all my forces to serving the people and the Party which brought me up."

M. R. Columbkova "confessed" in *Lidove Noviny* (Prague), December 27, 1951:

"I wished to sing my own song, inspired by my own blood. I sit under the cow, milking, and my thoughts wander. All night and during the day I rack my brains for how to put my song together, and how to sing it. The old songs are not good enough and there are not enough new ones. Finally I decided I would sing of the elections. I composed my own song."

### III. THE CONFESSIONS OF A POET

The Satellite cultural ministries seem to be not only aware of the various kinds of compromise to which many of their poets have resorted, but they have discovered a diabolically subtle way to utilize these poetic deviations to their own advantage. Both regime and poetic self-criticism are important psychological weapons in the constant "cover-up" campaign which Communist totalitarianism utilizes.

## THE SINS OF A POET

In Communist nomenclature, almost all of the ideological deviations defined below have been serious sins at one time or another. Many of them are short-lived because of frequent ideological shifts in the Kremlin. Nonetheless, they are difficult to avoid because of their vague, inconsistent terminology. There is hardly a poet who has not been "guilty" of one or more of them.

### Bourgeois Cosmopolitanism:

A reactionary ideology preaching renunciation of national traditions, disdain for distinguished features in the national development of each people, and renunciation of the feelings of national dignity and national pride. A nihilistic attitude of an individual towards his nationality —toward its past, present and future.

### Bourgeois Nationalism:

Chauvinistic love of one's native country, culture, or language.

### Escapism:

The avoidance of reality; an absorption in the realm of the purely imaginative.

### Formalism:

The use of complicated and unnatural forms; the sacrifice of content for the sake of form; a denial of the

significance of ideas in art, attributing significance to form alone. An insufficient creative will to follow the road of life's fundamentals to the utmost limit of consciousness.

### Intimism:

A preoccupation with personal and egocentric sentiments.

### Mysticism:

A belief in superstition which conceals untruth in the garb of religion and misleads the masses.

### Schematism:

An over-simplified and cowardly interpretation of social reality and its problems. Lack of originality, forcefulness and sincerity in presenting the complex aspects of Socialist life.

The roosters are crowing  
The Morning has come  
Get up, girls, let's hurry  
To the elections of the Soviets."

On August 14, 1952 Radio Riga brought to its listeners a lecture entitled "Under the Intelligent Leadership of the Communist Party:"

The [recent] congress of the Latvian Communist Party devoted considerable time to discussing literature and art. . . . It cannot be said that they are completely free of national chauvinism. Some progress in this respect has been noted; more positive heroes have entered our literature. . . . But the critics are right in attacking Latvian writers for thinking too much of the past. [Some] authors . . . describe the first months of Soviet Latvia too often. . . .

"It is still too early to speak of victorious Socialist realism in Latvian literature. Our writers must not only memorize yesterday, but plan tomorrow and depict today. These requirements, set forth by the ideological decisions of the Party Congress, have not been met by our writers. . . . It is their duty to picture the beautiful Soviet life in its revolutionary development. . . . The thoughts expressed by our writers today are much deeper than those described by classics of past centuries. . . . [But] no attention is paid to criticism. . . . Latvian authors do not possess the proper knowledge of Soviet realities. . . ."

## Semantic Hairsplitting

The fine line between "good" realism and "bad" realism seems to plague even the best of the Communist poets. *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), July 29, 1951 wrote:

"Our literature does not sufficiently stress the difficulties encountered in the work of construction. . . . Poets write only about our gay and happy life, carefully avoiding any mention of our difficulties. . . . Those who touched upon the events of the past six months without mentioning the difficulties in our food situation are hardly sincere, and they paint a distorted picture of the living conditions of our workers. . . . The poets made no attempt to help our people's democracy by explaining the origins and reasons for the difficulties. . . . The workers have a right to expect our modern literature to deal with problems that are a constant worry to them."

*Uj Hang*, the literary review of the Hungarian Writers' Association and the Union of Working Youth, had a recent, and still unsettled, tussle with Party ideologists over its "lack of the profound knowledge of life," according to Radio Budapest on January 26, 1953. "Uj Hang did not easily admit its mistakes," the announcer reported.

"In September it published a so-called self-criticism, but its formal and hypocritical tone amounted to a refusal. Further warnings were needed before the paper seriously considered its shortcomings. An article in the November

issue showed that the editors had at last realized their mistakes. *Uj Hang* had become a mouthpiece of right-wing trends, artistic principles alien to Socialist realism, petty bourgeois selfishness, formalism, and aloofness from politics. The last three issues of *Uj Hang* show a certain improvement, and the cause of peace, the central problem of our times, has finally been given its proper place. However, there are certain points in which no improvement is noticeable: *Uj Hang* has comparatively few outside contributors and has not yet published a young worker's, peasant's or student's criticism or opinion about articles or poems published in the paper; the present articles are aristocratic, haughty and belittling...."

Hungary's Cultural Minister Jozsef Revai, at the Party Congress in 1951, emphasized that "our literature still fails to represent the depth and various aspects of present-day reality. The heroes are often anemic paper figures." Revai spoke again at a 1951 Writers' Congress:

"To struggle against schematism and for a really educational literature capable of transforming man, means the creation of vivid, individual types. . . . The toiling man is such an individual type. . . . Such heroes are not the heroes of fairy tales; they are human beings who come from capitalism and proceed to socialism, and in the meantime, while transforming the world, they also transform themselves. . . . It is the duty of literature to present these workman heroes in every country and every age...."

*Otechestven Front* (Sofia), March 20, 1952 wrote:

"Our contemporary poetry remains far behind the rapid development of life. . . . What are the reasons for this? . . . The basic reason is that the poets do not know the life they are writing about well enough. . . . The systematic study of the theory of Marxism-Leninism will help poets to comprehend the meaning of today's building."

The Bulgarian Communist leaders offered "bribes" to poets who would develop themes in the proper spirit, according to *Literaturen Front* (Sofia), July 10, 1952:

"The Central Committee of the professional union of miners announces a contest for the writing of artistic works which reflect the life and struggle of Bulgarian miners against capitalism and fascism and [which show] their labor heroism in mastering new progressive work methods and Socialist competitions. . . . Three prizes of 320, 200 and 80 leva will be given for a poem. . . ."

### I Love a Machine

Because the regime is concerned with only the symptom, it is never satisfied. Poets who write lyrically and with talent are also censured. The *Lidove Noviny* critic who called Sosura's "I Love the Ukraine" nationalistic also criticized it for having poetic beauty:

". . . [He presents] neither a disdainful accusation of the exploiting classes nor a clear picture of the new Socialist life of the people. . . . He only sings of the 'old vast lands of the Ukraine,' her 'blue sky,' her 'gnarled willows,' 'the waves of the Dnepr.' In the imagination of our people, the picture of the Ukraine is indissolubly linked to the powerful Socialist industry, to the gigantic foundries, to the mechanized mines, to the initiators of the Stakhanovite movement, to kolkhoz management. . . ."

*Tarsadalmi Szemle* (Budapest), May 5, 1951 wrote:

"How could it be assumed that a Communist girl would try to win over to the Party an intelligent man with her love and not with her ideals? It is obvious that love is not fit to replace class struggle. . . . In our world . . . we do not give writers permission and 'liberty' to distort the truth of life."

On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Romania's great lyric poet Eminescu, Stefan Petrowicz, Soviet poet, said in Bucharest:

"Love, which the decadent and cosmopolitan poets represent in mystic or pornographic manner—in the Soviet Union acquires a Socialist character. A Russian youth will fall in love with a girl as a consequence of her achievements in production in the industrial field."

### Poor Portrayal of the Profound

The sacrifice of "art for art's sake" to the importunate demands of "Socialist realism" has resulted in a poetry almost totally lacking in artistry. Even the politically-minded Communist critics realize the disgrace of such poetry. The official Hungarian cultural paper *Magyar Nemzet* wrote on July 17, 1951:

"The choice of subjects is good and in the Party line . . . but the elaboration is not always worthy of the subject. . . . It is a pity that the standard of literature does not always reach the high level of the subject. . . . Our writers should not be satisfied with shallow writings. They should give expression to genuine feelings, genuine thoughts instead of mere phrases."

Radio Bucharest on August 14, 1951 did not deny some "progress in the right direction," but lamented the fact that literature still shows "grave deficiencies. . . . In certain cases, the Party line has been substituted by false and harmful rhetoric. . . ."

Hungary's Minister of Culture Jozsef Revai, speaking before the Writer's Association in Budapest April 27, 1951, warned writers that "it is not sufficient merely to be a Communist. Those who think that having the membership card in their pockets gives them the philosophers' stone are much mistaken. They must also know how to write."

Premier Malenkov said at the recent 19th Party Congress:

"Many mediocre, colorless, and sometimes merely trashy works, distorting Soviet reality, still appear in literature. . . . The many-sided seething life of Soviet society is depicted drearily and tediously in the works of some writers. . . ."

### "Bolshevik Forerunners"

Using the same ingenuity with which they added poetic criticism and self-criticism to the arsenal of psychological warfare, the Communists have attempted, with only partial success, to turn each Satellite country's literary past to their own advantage. To the extent that the populations of these countries were proud of their national (often specifically anti-totalitarian) literature, every reader was a "compromiser." He allowed himself to be moved by poetry which had been written in pre-Communist times, for a pre-Satellite public, devoted to highly romantic, patriotic, or individualistic ideals. The problem for the regime was a tricky one: first to expunge all "bourgeois" poetry; then, by presenting early nationalist-revolutionary poetry as Russo-communist in spirit, to provide contemporary Satellite poetic ideals with a bogus heritage.

Bulgaria, with its strong tradition of revolutionary poetry, was the most ideal victim of this particular brand of exploitation.

The mid-nineteenth century had produced a generation of Bulgarian poets newly awakened to the oppression of Turkish rule. Inspired by Western influence and interest, they attacked social inequalities and helped to inspire the liberation of 1878. Almost without exception, these poets were usurped by the Bulgarian Communist regime as "Bolshevik" revolutionaries. The adaptability of their poems to Communist purposes is well illustrated in these verses written in 1873 by Christo Botev, one of the more prominent representatives of this school:

He lives, he lives! . . . there on the Old Mountain,  
Soaked in blood, he lies groaning,  
A hero with a deep wound in his chest,  
A hero stronger than his youth.  
\* \* \* \* \*

The hero lies, and in the sky,  
The sun has stopped, flaming with anger.  
A maiden sings somewhere in the fields,  
And his blood streams more and more!  
  
It is harvest . . . Enslaved maidens,  
Sing our sorrowful songs! And thou, sun,  
Shine on this enslaved land. This hero too  
Shall perish . . . But, heart, be still!  
  
He, who falls fighting to free others  
Never dies: heaven and earth,  
Beast and all nature mourn,  
And singers sing songs for him. . .

*Independence* (Sofia), August 11, 1873

Bulgarians today find in Ivan Vasov's work the best expression of the nation's struggle in that revolutionary period. He is regarded as the greatest of all Bulgarian writers, and is the most popular and best-remembered poet of that era. Perhaps fearful of his influence, the early Communist press attacked him as a "bourgeois lackey," an "incorrigible chauvinist," and a "stagnant" writer. In 1950, however, the regime attitude toward Vasov changed markedly. By using only that part of his poetry in which he spoke of his love for Russia (pre-Bolshevik Russia), his

"bourgeois" verses suddenly acquired new propaganda merit. On the 100th anniversary of his birth, press and radio were filled with praise for the great "Socialist revolutionary" poet. *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), July 9, 1950 wrote:

"On the one hand, the most important factor in the 100th anniversary celebrations of Vasov's birth is the mass and active participation of the working class. On the other are the achievements of the great poet which represent the most valuable aspect of his poetry: his reviving democratism, his critical realism, with bright moments of progressive romanticism, and the profound people's character of his entire work. . . . Today's honoring of Vasov means a real change in our attitude toward him, an attitude which includes his great cultural inheritance in our further Socialist cultural work. . . . Vasov was and still remains in the camp of peace and democracy in spite of deviations from the basic line of his people's poetry."

Succeeding generations of poets were directly opposed to the Vasov revolutionary tradition and, therefore, in many ways ran counter to Communist ideology. Their was a highly personal poetry which explored the realms of emotion and deliberately avoided social themes. In addition, they were influenced by Western literature. For the present at least, they are "unknown" in Bulgaria, because they are not useful to the Communists.

These verses by the Hungarian poet Mihaly Vorosmarty (1800-1855) are often quoted as having "heralded Socialism":

A new trend breaks forth from the soul:  
To graft into the raw races  
Purer sentiments and more productive ideals,  
So at last they may embrace each other  
And justice and love shall rule the world.  
So the lowest peasant in his hut  
May confidently say: I am not alone!  
I have brothers and sisters, thousands of millions,  
I protect them, and they protect me.  
I no longer fear you, fate, no matter what you do.

"Vorosmarty's views," wrote *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), December 3, 1950, "are based on the same ideas as those expressed in the humanism of the utopian socialists, but actually he is more closely related to our present age."

## IV. THE GOLDEN CAGE

If the regime is dissatisfied with its contemporary poets, it is equally likely that the poets are unhappy with their lot. Exiles who have followed literary trends since Communism came to power have this to say:

### Romania

"In spite of the orders, Romanian poets will never fit into a regimented pattern. They will write to please the government, but they will keep their real works for later, when the Romanian people will be free. Only

then all the sufferings, the violations and the exploitations endured will be shown in poems now carefully hidden, and the face of the tyrants will be shown in its true light."

### Hungary

"It may be assumed that in the future even greater pressure will be put upon Hungarian poets. Some of them may be compelled to write, or the ones writing today may be induced to make even greater compromises. However, on the basis of facts so far known, those works will not express the views of the writers. And as far as authenticity is concerned, the poems will not differ much from defendants' confessions at show-window trials. Hungarian poetry did not surrender to the brown terror and it has not surrendered to the red terror."

### Estonia

"There is no sense in thinking of Estonian poetry in terms of the poetry which is produced now in occupied Estonia. It is only Leninism-Stalinism-Malenkovism-Russianism in rhyme."

### Lithuania

"In Lithuania, party members usually do not fear the criticism, because there is no real danger: they constantly criticize each other. But to the non-Party poets who are 'permitted' to write, criticism is a living hell. Constantly heckled by Party directives and forced to write stupidities, these victims of Communist 'charity' deserve the pity of the nation."

### Czechoslovakia

"I should like to underline one basic characteristic which is common to all of us [Czechoslovak writers]: Any time we were allowed to write according to our own conscience and taste, we were seeking hope, not strength, and we were siding with the weak, not with the victors. This is the second time, since 1939, that our books have been damned and our names removed from the literary indexes. The first time the order came from Berlin, the second time, from Moscow. And yet, even then, just as today, we were being read—by the underground. In other words: our lot in the homeland is not to be successful, but to have devoted readers."

### Latvia

"The Latvian poet of the older generation is often accused of being unable to reproduce the free and happy Soviet life. But he who has a conscience cannot speak of freedom when he is chained by Communist force and terror. He cannot speak of happiness when he is surrounded by social disaster. And while his voice slowly fades away, a new and forceful sound comes from the

young opportunist propagandizing Marxism-Leninism in mimic verse form. The tragedy is more than a personal one for the poet; it is the tragedy of a whole people who can no longer find in their national poets an expression of their true feelings."

### Poland

"What are the main features of contemporary poetry in Poland? Poets realize perfectly well that they are not free. Any illusions that they may have had—and this refers particularly to the more progressive and radical individual—are probably gone. The younger poets, who had little or no connection with Western poetry, feel that their natural tendencies are ruined and try to make the best of the situation. The quality of poems is usually high but one detects in them a certain artificial pattern (called by regime critics 'schematism'), lack of sincere enthusiasm and standardization of ideas. It is also obvious that the poets read little, do not digest what they read and hurry in producing a quota demanded from them. Hence the poems give one an impression of a kind of poet's notebook.

"Poetry, as well as the poets, can never be confined to ideological borders, because it is perhaps the freest and most revolutionary of spirits. Once this is realized—the rest becomes simple. One may write good poetry, well constructed and full of grand words, and still not find its true meaning. That is where the drama of captive poetry lies.

"Polish poets have been isolated from the people and their real emotional conflicts. They are in a 'golden cage'—clever little monkeys who are made to stay there, perform various tricks—realizing that their contacts with the people have been lost."

The spirit of Russian revolutionary poetry, born in the convulsions and pain of upheaval, died out in the cruelties and pierced illusions of the Stalinist reality. The spirit of Satellite poetry was denied even this, born as it was of the unemotional calculated coup d'état. There are still captive country poets who write for themselves, "in the secrecy of soul," and who do not offer their work for publication. If their poetry ever manages to come from behind the Iron Curtain, it will be a true poetry, a poetry of protest and suffering, born of the love of man: a poetry of and for itself alone. Poetry is not based on statistics and economic plans, tractors and Party meetings. It is created in an atmosphere of free solitude for the individual and the nation, in the "spontaneous overflow of emotion recollected in tranquillity."

## **News Briefs**

### **"Kindly Watch Your Step"**

According to a refugee, posters have recently been put up in all Budapest streetcars with the following message:

"Man is the highest value in a People's Democracy. Do not get off the streetcar while it is still in motion, because Socialism is based on workers who are strong and able. If you suffer an accident, you will cause inconvenience to hundreds of others and thus interfere with the development of Socialist society. . . ."

### **Menus Purged**

Foreign terminology is to be dropped from Czechoslovak menus, according to *Lidova Demokracie* (Prague), December 18. The newspaper denounced these names as "relics of feudalistic times when culinary delicacies were stylishly called after statesmen, artists and their mistresses. Such names do not tell our workers anything at all."

The newspaper continued: "The hotel and restaurant administration, in collaboration with the Language Institute of the Academy of Sciences, has composed new names to replace the unintelligible foreign terms. Thus, customers need no longer be in doubt over *tournedos Rossini*, *rum-steak Jackson*, *Chateaubriand* or *ham-and-eggs*. Certain foreign names, such as *biftek*, will be retained because they are sufficiently familiar to most people."

"These changes will greatly improve the service for our worker-customers," concluded *Lidova Demokracie*.

### **Soviets Walk Off—With Chess Tourney**

Soviet chess champions made a clean sweep at the International Chess Tournament held in Bucharest January 25-February 25. In the final tally, the first four places went to Soviet players Alexander Tolus, T. Petrosian, V. Smaslov and I. Boleslavski. Hungarian champion L. Szabo won fifth place. B. Spaschi, youngest player in the tournament and junior member of the five-man Soviet team, ranked sixth.

Twenty representatives from six Cominform countries and four Western—Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, Hungary, Norway, Poland, Sweden, USSR and Romania—competed in matches held nightly for one month in the Romanian capital's Trade Unions Theater. According to the Romanian press, a large number of "working men, fervent admirers of chess," were admitted to the matches and "commented enthusiastically on the play." To "further interest in chess among the working masses," the twenty players gave exhibition matches in several plants, institutes and workers' clubs.

The tournament opened with a speech made by Mihail Sadoveanu, chairman of the Romanian Central Committee for Chess. Other speeches were made by G. G. Mescerschi in the name of the USSR Physical Culture and Sports Committee; A. Fulop, chairman of the Hungarian delegation, Belgian player A. O'Kelly, and British player Harry Golombek.

### Field Work

Polish children don't play house, they play *kolkhoz*. According to a refugee report, a teacher in the district of Szczecin persuaded her pupils of ten years of age and upward to organize an "agricultural cooperative." The co-operative, about 2½ acres in size, keeps the same rules as those of a regular *kolkhoz*. It has a manager, bookkeeper, three "brigadiers," and a two-year production plan. It makes contract sales of flax, sugar beet and early potatoes. In exchange for the use of horses, the children do a certain amount of work on a nearby collective farm.

### Archeological Find

Roman ruins of great archeological value were uncovered in the course of digging the foundations for buildings which will form Sofia's new civic center. The February issue of *Bulgaria Dnes* (Sofia) reported:

"Parts of the old fortress walls, and ruins of the old streets of the ancient city of Serdica, were found beneath the site of Sofia's new center. The most significant discovery is a six-line inscription in Latin on a small marble column half a meter high and about 20 centimeters in diameter. This dates from the time of the Roman Emperor Constantine Tiberius (578-582 A.D.). No Roman inscription of later date has ever been discovered. The text of the inscription indicates that the Eastern Roman Empire at this period was more powerful than was formerly believed, and that it carried out vast construction projects despite the raids of the Slavs.

"Authorities assume from the text of the inscription that in ancient times Sofia had a solid and extensive aqueduct, though no traces of this have been found. The text mentions an order from the Emperor to the governor of the city directing that the 'aqueduct of Serdica be repaired.' There are also data on the governor's family and certain other details."

### Medical Muddle

The following description of a hospital in Poland, based on the experience of two escaped trained nurses, is in striking contrast to the official Communist claims in the field of medical welfare:

"The 120-bed hospital in the Jan z Kolna ulica 4 in Swinoujsie is the only hospital in the entire district. Its chief physician is a 32-year-old man who finished his studies at the medical high school of Szczecin less than two years ago, and served his 'internship' as an assistant at the school. This is his first post.

"The rest of the hospital staff consists of: a pediatrician who received his degree one year ago; four trained nurses—qualified by two and a half years of apparently good intensive training at a nursing school attached to a medical school —, one X-ray technician, one laboratory technician, and 10 'nurses' aides,' peasant girls from agricultural schools without any knowledge of nursing procedure, who are accepted only because they are Party activists. Their former training period of six months has now been extended to one year, apparently because the calibre of the trainees has so rapidly deteriorated during the past year.

"The hospital laboratory lacks running water and antiseptic equipment for tests. Operations are sometimes delayed because the gas goes off in the sterilizers, and the nurses must then boil the bandages and compresses over a wood fire. Often there is not even cold water in the hospital because the antiquated plumbing breaks down. During the entire month of December [1952], the laundry facilities were out of order.

"The administrator of the hospital is a former soldier who joined the Party activists. His salary: 1000 *zlotys* [\$250] a month. His talent: saving money at the risk of patients' lives. His methods: hot water once a week, one bar of soap for fifty patients, two thermometers for the entire hospital, two packages of sterilized bandages and compresses (constantly re-used), inadequate heat at night, and insufficient drug supplies.

"The hospital has three wards—surgical, medical and maternal. If a patient is fortunate enough to enter the hospital on the one day during the week when hot water is available, he has a bath—after standing in line before one of the two tubs. The most common ailments requiring hospitalization in Poland are tuberculosis, pernicious anemia, tumor, stomach ulcers and venereal disease. Accident cases are numerous; many women stone-masons injure their hands or feet. Three or four babies are brought in every month suffering from food poisoning.

"Nothing, however, is lacking in the political education of the staff. For one hour every afternoon, the entire staff—with the exception of one nurse on duty—is given a political briefing. Although there are still some crucifixes hanging on the hospital walls, priests are not admitted unless summoned by a dying patient. Christmas was not observed at the hospital. On Christmas Day [1952], the central radio of the hospital carried the usual propaganda sent forth over loudspeakers strategically placed in corridors so that no patient can miss a single word."

### Gold Market Cornered

By a government decree of January 2, 1953, all trade in gold and gold ornament in Bulgaria becomes a State monopoly. No jeweler is permitted to work with gold. Private citizens may not buy or sell gold or gold articles. Gold rings exceeding seven grams in weight and earrings exceeding five grams may not be taken out of the country.

### Shoemaker's Slip

A Hungarian factory worker has been arrested because he was "caught redhanded making a pair of black shoes at home in his spare time," according to an article in *Esti Budapest*. His mother-in-law was also arrested for obtaining the shoe leather for him. "These two enemies of our public supply have been taken into custody," the article said, "and the confiscated goods have been distributed among the craftsmen's cooperatives."

Similar cases are frequently reported in the Communist press. The charge usually is "theft of state property" and the penalty ranges from five to ten years' imprisonment.

### Iron Curtain: Denser and Deeper

At the Czechoslovak-Bavarian border between Cham and Waldmunchen, residents in Bavaria have reported that the barbed wire marking the frontier has been electrified and that in other sectors insulators are being installed. In this sector, for a distance of 12 miles, fortifications of various kinds are being erected on the Czechoslovak side.

Recent escapees to Western Germany have confirmed that during the winter months new measures were adopted to seal Czechoslovakia almost hermetically from the U. S. zone in Germany. New obstacles have been erected, guard posts are now so numerous as to be almost in sight of each other, and automatic illuminations have been installed. It is evidently no less difficult to reach border territory than to cross the border itself. There are patrols on every train coming from the interior. The watch towers are in telephone contact with each other and with the command posts.

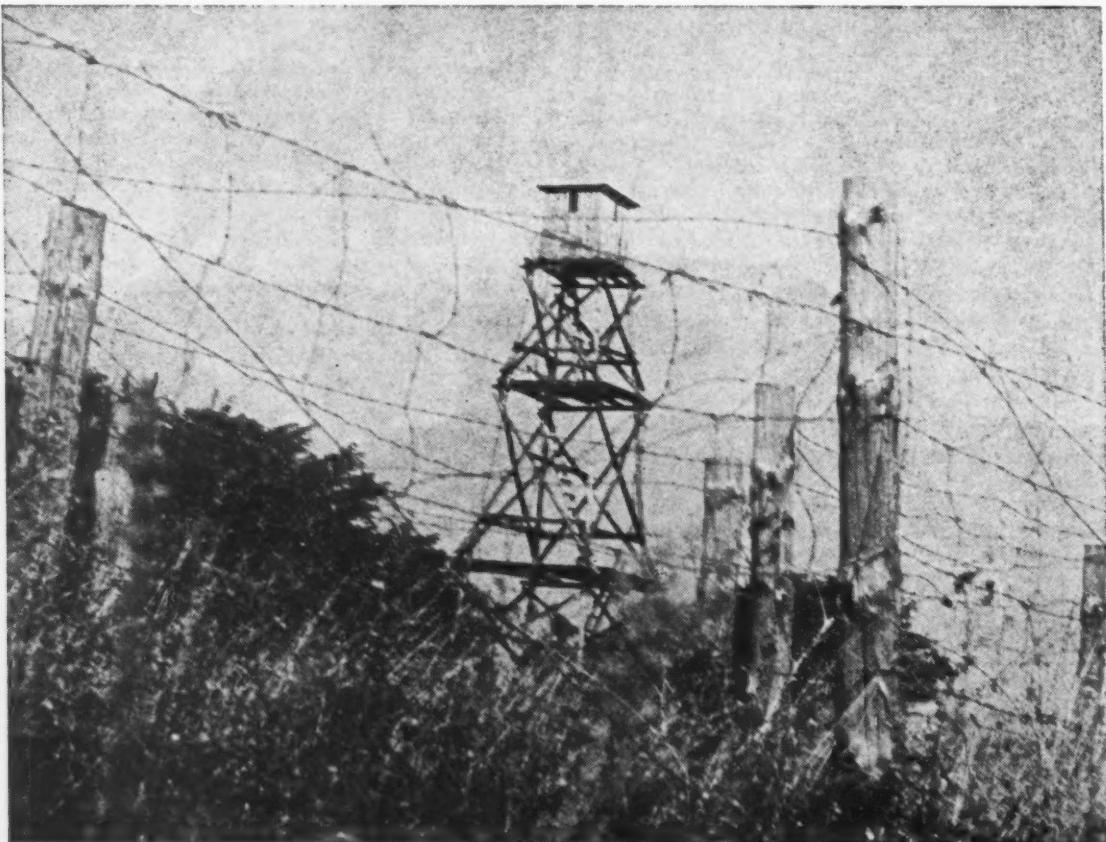
During the night, patrols use light signals. Recently searchlights have been connected to trip wires. Trip wires also set off signal rockets which are attached to tree stumps. Mine fields and deep excavations make crossing still more hazardous. Yet the trickle of escapees continues.

### Working Vocabulary

The official Czechoslovak German-language publication *Das Bulletin* (Prague), February 25, carried an article on the introduction of German language courses for members of the Czechoslovak Army. Soldiers taking these courses are also briefed on general conditions in Western Germany.

A special department is believed to have been established at the Central Office of the Czechoslovak State Security Service in Prague for the collection and evaluation of all intelligence forwarded by agents in Bavaria, Wuerttemberg and Hesse. Extensive files are being set up to show which parts of the population can be considered "reliable."

A recently escaped Czechoslovak Army officer reported in January that the first 31 Chinese-language students to be graduated from Prague's Oriental Institute were assigned to various Army training schools, where they will teach Chinese to Czechoslovak Army and Air Force officers. A dictionary of Chinese Army terminology has been published by the Oriental Institute.



## News Briefs

### Bargains Go Underground

Until the government abolished second-hand bazaars, there were many in Sofia, the largest of which was located on Bratia Milidanoi Street in the downtown district. A bazaar consisted of a row of tables on the street from which were sold the household goods of the hard-pressed bourgeoisie.

These bazaars varied in size but were similar in other respects. The merchants were chiefly men unable to hold positions in government bureaus and enterprises because of their middle-class background. People of the same class were continually entering the bazaar with household trinkets in their arms to be sold to the merchants. Elderly gentlemen could be seen carrying large pieces of furniture to be exchanged for money to feed hungry families. Everywhere there was hushed bargaining.

Since the bazaars were frequented by the class disavowed and dispossessed by the Communist regime, they were suspected as centers of unrest and intrigue. Furthermore, the government frowned upon these vestiges of private enterprise in a nationalized economy. It was only a matter of time before they would be abolished by decree.

In the summer of 1952, a decree was published prohibiting the private sale of second-hand goods. This order caused the immediate closing of the large bazaar on Bratia Milidanoi Street, but for some time after, street disposal of second-hand goods continued in the more remote sections of the city. Many of the merchants were probably unaware that they were engaging in illegal activity. For some weeks, therefore, State Security and Militia agents combed the city for violators of the decree.

By the end of 1952, not a bazaar was to be seen in Sofia. Yet it is likely that huge quantities of second-hand goods continue to be exchanged surreptitiously in basements and backyards. For persons unable to find employment in Bulgaria, the only means of survival is the sale of personal property retained from the past.

### Exiles Attacked

Major targets of the stepped-up Communist press campaign against the West are the East European political exiles in Great Britain and the U. S. In Estonia, a 382-page book has been devoted exclusively to attacking them. *Betrayal of Homeland, Conspiracy Against the People*, by A. Kahn, was reviewed in *Rhava Haal* (Tallinn), December 18. The critic's only comment: "This work magnificently exposes the active part of American imperialists in all the dirty machinations of these international reactionaries [exiles]."

### Scrap Paper Currency

The drive to collect scrap paper in Czechoslovakia takes many forms. Radio Prague praised the example of two hockey teams in Kladno which had admitted spectators to a recent game for scrap paper instead of for cash. The result: 30 tons of paper were collected. In the future, sports fans will pay in waste paper or scrap iron to see football games as well as hockey matches.

### Uranium Deposits Traced

Refugees report that an intensive search for uranium is now underway in the Lower Tatara mountains of Slovakia. This is being carried out as a result of findings made in the summer of 1951 by two technical groups under the supervision of Soviet geologists. In these groups were military experts as well as university students. The headquarters of one of the groups was on Mt. Chabenec, where all the equipment was assembled.

### Unrevised Edition?

Some curiously candid admissions about life in Communist Czechoslovakia appear in *Devjata* [The Ninth Wave], the latest novel by Ilya Ehrenburg, *Pravda* correspondent, winner of the Stalin Peace Prize, and one of the most favored of the Communist Party's literary elite. In this novel, (which, as a whole, scrupulously treads the Party line), a dispossessed owner of a Prague café declares:

"The Communists say that they have made the people happy. But look at the café which used to be mine. In the old days there was not an empty table from morning till night. People sat for hours sipping coffee with whipped cream. At the entrance there were newspapers, ten or twenty of them, of every political persuasion. I even used to subscribe to *Rude Pravo* [Communist daily, formerly illegal].

"Now my café has been requisitioned. I ask you to drop in and see what it is like. The papers are gone and only the wooden holders are left. What matters is not that I am bankrupt, but that I no longer enjoy going to my café."

Another character, a French journalist who becomes converted to the Stalin "Peace Movement," ventures the remark that in the shop windows of Prague "there are more portraits of Stalin than goods."

### Teacher Kept In

*Pod Zastavou Socializmu* (Bratislava), in its February issue, condemned indignities to which Czechoslovak teachers and school personnel are subjected, and described a striking example: ". . . Cases of the mishandling of teachers and school workers still occur at the expense of the whole school. Lack of respect for the teacher, and for the entire school, was shown, for instance, when the chairman of the local Party committee in Bernolakovo locked the teacher in an office to force her to stay and copy some official papers. . . ."

### Myth for Moderns

In their program to break down continued peasant resistance to collectivization in Hungary, Communist propagandists have resorted to a simple form of "illustrative anecdote." To what extremes of naivete these allegedly true stories go is illustrated by one story told on a Radio Budapest broadcast, January 8:

"A Catholic rural dean and a landowner conspired to prevent the peasants of Baranyos village from joining

the local agricultural cooperative. The dean promised the church bell-ringer a quantity of grain, donated by the landowner, if the bell-ringer would disguise himself as the statue of St. Anthony in the village church. The next morning reports of a miracle taking place in the church were circulated among the villagers. When villagers asked the statue whether they should join the cooperative, the statue replied by shaking its head. The chairman of the local Party council wanted to report the affair to higher authorities, but a council member volunteered to expose the fraud himself. He approached the statue and asked the familiar question as to whether he should join the cooperative, and received a negative shake of the head in reply. Then he whispered something in the statue's ear, whereupon the statue jumped off its pedestal and rushed towards the church door shouting, "I'll kill him, I'll murder him with an axe!" Later the council member disclosed that he had whispered to the bell-ringer that while he was acting the part of St. Anthony, the landowner was making love to his wife."

#### The Old Man and the Health Department

*Express Wieczorny* (Warsaw), February 9, listed current best sellers in the U. S. and described them as follows:

"No. 1 on the list is Ernest Hemingway's *The Old*

*Man and the Sea*, a story about an old man in progressive stages of degeneracy. Next on the list is Whittaker Chambers' *Witness*, a book based on the author's criminal experience as an FBI agent.

"Official U.S. Health Department statistics reveal that some 9 million Americans are presently in asylums. Books such as these contributed greatly to this state of affairs."

#### Wholesale Only

Czechoslovak cultural officials boast that theater attendance is at an all-time high. Small wonder, when methods are used such as those described by an irate plant manager in *Svet Prace* (Prague), February 5:

"On January 13, we ordered some tickets for our employees to a performance of *The Bartered Bride*. When the tickets did not come, we telephoned the Central Ticket Agency in Prague and were told that we could have them only if we would buy an equal number of tickets for *Late Love*, *Ljuba Jarova*, and *People, Beware!* Our employees had already seen these plays, and were not interested in buying any tickets at all under coercion."

#### New Star Cited

A businessman who recently left Romania reported that he was given instructions at the beginning of January 1953 to paint a Red Star on the Communist-styled (see Fig. 3) Romanian national emblem in his office. This move, which was not reported in the Romanian press, was widely discussed, and generally interpreted as meaning that "the goal of Socialism in Romania has been reached."

The Romanian national emblem was modified by the new Constitution voted on September 24, 1952. It is assumed that new Romanian coins, which bear the national emblem, will soon be issued with the Red Star appearing on them as well.



Fig. 1—Pre-Communist



Fig. 2—New Emblem



Fig. 3—Communist

### See Vladimir Ilyich . . .

How the Communists can make a museum out of thin, but hallowed, air is illustrated by the new Lenin Museum in Prague which opened on January 21, the 49th anniversary of Lenin's death. The museum occupies a renovated building which formerly held the offices of the Social-Democrat daily *Pravo Lidu*. In this building, in a room on the third floor, Lenin presided over a meeting of the illegal Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in 1912.

The new museum shows a great number of exhibits on all three floors. These, according to a description in *Rude Pravo* (Prague), January 21, document Lenin's life from his childhood, his student days, his exile in Siberia and Switzerland, to his role in the Revolution of 1917 and his death. Exhibits emphasizing his close association with Stalin are prominently displayed.

*Rude Pravo*, anticipating "great public interest," notified schools and plant managements that applications for tickets must be made well in advance. According to the newspaper's January 25 issue, the attendance figure for the first few days averaged 1500 daily, but seems to have tapered off, since the notice has not been repeated.

### Wayward Buses

The city transit situation in Budapest is far from satisfactory, according to *Esti Budapest*, February 11, which noted a complaint by the Budapest municipal bus company that it has not received one good bus from the once-famous Ikarus Motorbus manufacturing company in three years.

A reporter for the newspaper who visited the municipal bus company was told by a company spokesman that "recently seven out of 12 buses were of inferior quality, and at present six brand-new buses stand idle in the shed because the factory has not repaired them despite its contract to do so."

A bus company engineer revealed that in 1951, ten buses had a total of 355 breakdowns; in 1952, during one six-week period, 250,000 *forints* were spent on repairs to buses. This money would have purchased five new buses.

The engineer claimed that "on a recent test run, not one out of six buses got back to Budapest without developing some trouble. Last August, our firm wanted to take over 15 new buses but they were so defective we could not accept them. The factory then abandoned the buses in the factory courtyard."

### Information, Please

Only 274 private telephones are listed in the telephone directory (latest edition, published in 1949) of Kaunas, a Lithuanian city with a population of nearly 150,000. In 1940, there were over 4,000 subscribers listed.

An exile familiar with the locale has drawn the following conclusions from studying the contents of the latest directory:

"Only 100 of the 274 names listed are Lithuanian. The

remaining 174 are chiefly Russian. 29 are undoubtedly Jewish, 12 of which bear the Lithuanian endings *as* or *is*, indicating their native origin; the others are probably immigrants from Russia. Only two outstanding Communist Party officials and only two high government officials—the Minister for Food Industry and the Minister for Construction—are listed. Unquestionably many other officials have telephones, which, for security or other reasons, they do not list.

"At least 14 names of persons prominent in Lithuania before the Soviet occupation are identifiable, and it can be stated that most of them have little or nothing to do with administrative or Party affairs. Many are leading artists—a veteran painter (over 70 years old), the former leading operatic tenor, a film stage manager, a scientist, two well-known physicians, a composer and orchestra conductor, an opera star, etc. Of course, these are all more or less in favor with the regime, although they are not active Communists. The privilege of having a telephone is rare under the present government and the number of private subscribers in Kaunas is convincing evidence of this."

### First Lady Still

A Munich correspondent reports that ex-President Benes' widow, who now lives in Prague, is ill with a serious eye ailment which obliges her to travel by train to her physician in Olomouc every few months. On one trip, as Mrs. Benes entered the train, all the passengers rose to their feet in recognition of her former position. A number of people who recognized her upon her arrival followed her to the doctor's house and waited outside while she was being treated. "Such," concludes the correspondent's report, "is the reverence still shown to Czechoslovakia's former first lady."

### Higher Literacy

1,075,000 copies of the works of Stalin have been published in Bulgaria, according to official statistics quoted in the Sofia newspaper *Zemedelsko Zname*, December 20. This means one copy for every sixth Bulgarian, including babies, illiterates, and old people.

### Refrigerator Cars

The Prague newspaper *Prace*, January 20, published an article under the headline "Refrigerator on Wheels, With Every Comfort." Describing the hardships of travelling over long distances in unheated railway cars, the paper declared:

"These luxurious new coaches now in use on the main inland lines have only one shortcoming: they are heated by electricity. As there is not yet one single electrified railway line in Czechoslovakia, and the coaches have no steam heating, the travellers arrive at their destination frozen stiff, cursing the railways and the designers of the new coaches, wishing them nothing worse than a trip around the world—on the northern route—in this beautiful icebox on wheels."

## Satire Without Stings

*Literarni Noviny* (Prague), January 10, dedicated a short verse to editors who "want satire but are afraid of the barbs."

### EMIL KROTKIS REDAKTORU

KTERÝ O SATIRU STOJÍ,  
OSTNÚ SE VŠAK PRITOM BOJÍ.



V teorii vědy je přání jeho  
satirická pero býtce bodavé.  
V praxi touží po satirice laskavé  
já chce mit — ale holendho.  
Přeložil J. Vojtěch

In theory he wishes for ruthless satire  
From a pen so prickly sharp.  
In practice, a mild satire he longs for.  
He wants a hedgehog—but a shaven one.

## Back Tracks

A two-mile railway line can vanish overnight in Latvia because too many officials know too little. This characteristic example of the chaos in the Latvian economy was recounted in *Sovetskaya Latvia* (Riga), January 14:

"The scenery around Salaspils is very beautiful. And so it happened that Comrade Pavlov, Secretary of the Riga District Party unit, ordered his driver to stop the car so that he could take a stroll. About 100 steps off the road, Comrade Pavlov halted in surprise. 'Is that possible?' he exclaimed. 'What are those railroad tracks doing here?'

"Pavlov ordered his driver to make a quick trip into the town. The local Party officials were also surprised. They knew nothing about the existence of a railroad in the neighborhood. No information about it could be obtained on the collective farm through whose property the tracks ran.

"Comrade Pavlov returned to the capital and would have forgotten the entire affair if it were not for a conversation which took place the next morning in his office with Comrade Beris, chairman of the scrap iron collection. Beris complained that his division was behind in fulfilling its quarterly plan. Pavlov thought of the railroad tracks, and called a meeting of the Riga Party Council. The meeting declared the railroad tracks near Salaspils no-man's property. Beris smiled. Nothing worried him now. Workers were dispatched to Salaspils and dismantling of the tracks began.

"A few weeks later, the director of Saulkrasti brick-mill decided to repair the mill's railroad tracks and to use them again for the shipment of building materials. To his astonishment he could not find the tracks. They had been torn up. A week later the decision made by the Riga Party Council was nullified and the brick-mill again owned a railroad. But what good is the decision? The tracks have vanished. Some Party officials were fired, but that does not help much either."

## Blue Books for Babies

The thorough documentation of every citizen's life, a basic feature of Socialized society, exemplified by the compulsory identity card and employment book, has been carried a step further in Czechoslovakia. Here, the nationalized health service now requires the keeping of so-called Blue Books automatically issued to every newborn child. *Lidova Demokracie* (Prague) explained the procedure and the purpose of these records:

"Do you have a new baby? A boy? A girl? On the day you take the child home from the hospital, the doctor gives you a blue book. Your first impression will be that it is a savings book. But it is something much more valuable, a book which will strengthen your child's health.

"The gold-embossed inscription beneath the emblem of the Republic is a simple one: Health Record. You take the book home and there you look more closely at the treasure, which will supplement your happiness. The pages are mostly empty as yet, because your child has only been in the world a short time. But there is a record of his weight at birth, his height, how old the parents are, etc.

"The Blue Book will accompany your child all through his life. He will produce it whenever he requires a doctor's attention. He will be obliged to show it when he goes to school, when he marries, when he is ready for employment . . ."

## News Briefs

### Prague Bleak; Budapest Better

A business representative of several East European state enterprises in Turkey has reported on his experiences during a business trip to Prague and Budapest in August and September 1952.

His first stop was Prague, where he was met at the airport by a representative of the Ministry of External Trade and the sales director of the factory with which he did business. He was immediately taken to a hotel reserved exclusively for foreigners, where he surrendered his passport and identification papers. He learned later that the desk clerk had been instructed to watch him carefully and to report any suspicious moves he might make.

Of conditions in Czechoslovakia he said:

"I found Prague more completely Communized than I had expected. The people I saw on the streets were, for the most part, factory workers. Occasionally I came across men who were openly pleased with the changes, but on the whole Prague looked even bleaker than it was on my last visit in 1943, during the Nazi occupation. It was obvious that everyone was working hard; streams of workers were in the streets by six o'clock in the morning and in the evening they came back from the factories about seven o'clock. Evidence of the 'hate America' campaign was everywhere in the form of posters showing American atrocities in Korea and the dropping of germ bombs."

He could find out little about economic conditions in Czechoslovakia. All his meals were paid for directly by the enterprise for which he was working; he was not allowed to exchange any currency, and a newspaper he started to read was taken away from him by one of his constant companions with the excuse that it was an old issue. Upon his departure his bags were searched thoroughly.

Arriving in Budapest, he found no one to meet him and he was able to register at a hotel of his own choice. At the hotel he was given a sight-seeing map of the city which was confiscated when he left. The service and meals at the hotel, which catered to both Hungarians and foreigners, were excellent but very expensive. Although he later found out that he was under surveillance as strict as in Czechoslovakia, he was completely unaware of it.

Budapest, too, was very changed, he reported.

"The once gay town has lost its former liveliness; the people in the streets look solemn. No one ever glances at the posters caricaturing America and the Western world, although there are more of these posters in Budapest than in Prague. It struck me that the well-dressed women had disappeared entirely; everyone is equally shabby. Although shop windows are full of clothes, they are very rarely sold inside the shops. I saw few Russians in the streets, but I was told there are many Soviet military advisors and business directors in the capital."

When he left, he was given small gifts by his business associates and his bags were not opened by customs.

"Such cordiality does not exist in Czechoslovakia," he

commented. "Altogether I would say that my stay in Budapest was much more pleasant than my visit to the Czechoslovak capital."

### Game Called

A European news source reported that six members of an Israeli ping pong team, scheduled to leave Israel on March 16 for Bucharest to compete in a tournament, were stopped at the last minute when Romanian authorities cancelled the visa granted them 24 hours earlier. No explanation was offered to counteract the widespread opinion that this was based entirely on arbitrary anti-Zionism.

### Ghost Train

One indication that Stalin's death resulted in a suspension of all normal activity in the captive countries is the fact that the Warsaw-Prague express train arrived in Schirnding, Germany, on March 6 (the day Stalin's death was announced), with only three passengers. The following day, March 7, the train arrived completely empty.

### The New Royalty

In a eulogy to the late tenant of the Hradcany castle of Prague, *Rude Pravo* (Prague), March 24, credited Klement Gottwald with restoring the castle "to an even greater glory than it enjoyed during the era of the Czech kings." The article continued:

"During the pre-Munich Republic, the castle of Prague [residence of the President] was the headquarters of the ruling bourgeoisie and landowners. The castle was represented as a public symbol of national glory above party politics and class differences. But, inside, it harbored cosmopolitans, prostituted Socialists, adventurers, pseudo-scientists, decadent poets, and all varieties of exploiters of the people. Prague castle collaborated with Hitler in the hope that he would attack the Soviet Union and leave Czechoslovakia alone.

"Comrade Gottwald restored the castle to a prestige even greater than during the era of the Czech kings. He opened it to the nation, and anyone could go there to see him. When Comrade Gottwald assumed office, the castle dropped its hypocritical mask of non-partisanship and became instead the symbol of the working class and the Communist Party. It was this feature which epitomized our new state, the dictatorship of the proletariat."

### Only Joking

After his execution, Rudolph Slansky was greeted at the gates of Heaven and taken on a tour by Saint Peter. Slansky found the quiet, pious life there unbearable and asked to be transferred elsewhere. Saint Peter then led him to the gates of Hell and turned him over to Lucifer. Slansky was taken to a noisy bar where there was dancing, singing, and much revelry. "This is for me!" declared Slansky, but Lucifer's reply was to lead him into the kitchen where he was dropped into a kettle of boiling oil. Slansky protested and demanded to be returned to the bar. "Brother," replied Lucifer, "that was just propaganda . . . copied from your own system."

# Research Projects on Eastern Europe

**Prepared by the National Committee for a Free Europe**

The studies listed below have recently been completed by members of the Research and Publications Service. They are available in limited quantities and may be obtained by writing NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, National Committee for a Free Europe, 110 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York.

*Titoism and the Contemporary World: Edward Kardelj's Speech to the Fourth Congress of the People's Front of Yugoslavia* (Research and Publications Service, March, 1953) 83 pages. In his speech of February 23, Dr. Kardelj, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council and one of the chief theoreticians of the Yugoslav Communist Party, stressed a number of important issues of great interest to students of contemporary Yugoslav affairs. Among them were: Yugoslavia's desire to associate itself with the defensive system of the West; and the Yugoslav Party's willingness to cooperate with all "progressive" democratic Socialist parties in an alliance against Soviet state-capitalism to "wrest from Soviet hands the banner of the defense of the rights of oppressed peoples." In his lengthy speech, Dr. Kardelj developed the thesis first announced by President Tito, that Yugoslavia was building Socialism on a purely democratic basis and not in the "state-capitalistic, terroristic, imperialistic" manner of the USSR, which the Yugoslav leaders consider a betrayal of the true cause of Socialism. This speech is the best summary to date of the Titoist position both from a practical and a theoretical point of view.

Price 40 cents.

*From Stalin to Malenkov: The Succession to Power and its Implications for the Soviet Sphere* (Research and Publications Service, March 1953) 30 pages. If the present leaders of the USSR are serious Marxists, then there is precedent enough in their philosophy to justify a struggle to the death. In this view, social transformations proceed by a violent succession of revolutionary stages, in which old forms are utterly destroyed to make way for the new, and change demands its victims. If as Toynbee maintains, the dominant political tradition in Russia is Byzantine, or as Vernadsky maintains, Mongol, both traditions emphasize single, autocratic rule. Purely practical considerations may lead Malenkov, or some other, to destroy his fellows and seek to assert sole and undivided authority. Even before Stalin's death, the USSR considered itself surrounded by enemies and facing a period of international tension and danger. Malenkov, following Stalin's example, may extirpate all those who could challenge his authority in a moment of supreme crisis.

Despite the ostensibly smooth succession within the USSR, the new situation seems to have spread some degree of dismay and confusion through the ranks of Satellite leadership. These reactions probably spring from two factors—first, a certain paralysis of action and decision based on personal fear; second, uncertainty regarding true lines of authority within the Kremlin.

An appendix to this study includes interviews with leading analysts of Soviet affairs, such as James Burnham, Alexander Kerensky, and Ambassador Alan Kirk.

Price 25 cents.

*The Slansky Trial: Verbatim Transcript of Court Proceedings and Minutes* (Research and Publications Service, March, 1953) approximately 550 pages. To date this is the first complete English version of the trial of Slansky and his 13 associates held in Prague in September 1952, as translated from the official Czechoslovak Communist press. Microfilm copies at the cost price of \$40 a copy will be mailed on request.

*Critical Bibliography of Communist Purges and Trials in the Soviet Union and the "People's Democracies"* (Research and Publications Service, January 1953) 40 pages. This is not an exhaustive bibliography of all books, articles, pamphlets and newspaper files dealing with this vast and important subject. Most sources, however, are standard reference works and authoritative documents. Critical and evaluative comments are limited to the materials' relevance only. The introductory sections present an outline of all important trials since 1922, with commentary on their significant features and demonstrating that the character of purges and trials has not changed substantially since those early days.

The listings are by country and in chronological order as follows: primary sources: court proceedings, verbatim reports, prosecution and defense speeches, examinations, and testimonies of the accused and the principal witnesses. Secondary sources: statements by authoritative observers or participants in the trials, comments by contemporaries, political tracts, and evaluations. General: writings by political observers on purges and trials in general, and works that include primary and secondary documents together with historical analyses. An informative and timely source of reference.

Price 15 cents.

*Sovietization of the Czechoslovak Judiciary* (Research and Publications Service, February, 1953) 22 pages. By an act of December 22, 1952, the Communists introduced the first new organization of the court system. The basic change was made in the composition of the judiciary. Previously, practically all judges were law graduates specially trained for their office. Now the judiciary is composed, on one hand, of judges by profession, on the other, of "people's judges." Both have equal powers of decision but with very few exceptions the "people's judges" element in the court benches forms the majority. Further judicial reorganization measures were made in 1950 and again in October 1952. The new legal structure provides draconic punishment for crimes against the State and remodels the Constitution and the laws on the Soviet pattern. With the emphasis on punishment, the task of the courts is no longer to administer justice and to punish only those whose guilt has been established beyond any doubt. It has been perverted into the political function of spreading terror and frightening an oppressed people into panic and blind obedience.

Price 10 cents.

*The Eleventh Reorganization of the Czechoslovak Post-Coup Government* (Research and Publications Service, March, 1953) 10 pages. In an attempt to achieve a higher degree of structural sovietization, the Czechoslovak Government underwent eleven reorganizations between March 1949 and February 1953. An analysis of the reorganized governmental machinery reveals that there now exist two Cabinets, the higher ranking body being called the Government Presidium and consisting of the Prime Minister and his nine deputies. In addition, many new departments were created on the grounds that "it is better to have more small ministries with special tasks than large ones with a confusion of tasks . . . [which] makes it possible . . . to have better control over the work of individual organs." But the satisfaction of the Czechoslovak regime over their alignment with the Soviet model was of short duration. The changes made in the Soviet Government following Stalin's death have taken the opposite course, i.e., reduction of the Presidium and of the number of ministers. The existing differences between the structures of the Soviet and the Czechoslovak governments are now further emphasized. It now remains to be seen if and when Czechoslovakia will carry out new remodeling measures.

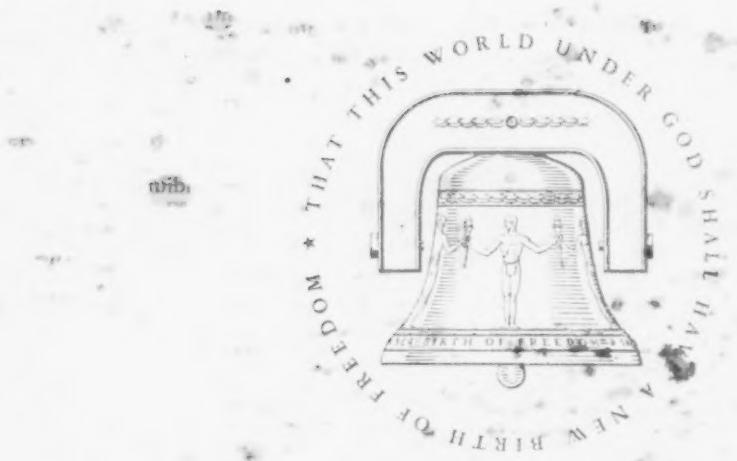
Price 5 cents.

*Chronology of Events in Hungary; January 1—December 31, 1952* (Research and Publications Service, January, 1953) 35 pages. A daily listing of events, with no comment, in all fields of endeavor—political, economic, social, and cultural. The source of information is the official Communist press in Hungary. These events are compiled on a monthly basis by the Hungarian Research and Publications Service.

Price 20 cents.

*The New Communist Electoral Law in Romania* (Research and Publications Service, March, 1953) 12 pages. Both at Yalta and Potsdam, and particularly at Moscow in December 1945, the Allies demanded from the pro-Communist Groza government in Romania the promise to conduct free and democratic elections. The electoral law of November 30, 1952, reproduced here in full, is officially based on free universal suffrage, but the many qualifications required of the voters are so restrictive that this law, by every "legal" means, precludes freedom of ballot. In fact, the unabashed cynicism with which sanctions are applied to those who attempt to hamper "the free exercise of the right to vote" makes such elections a tragic farce.

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